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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

INUIT CRAFTS IN BROUGHTON ISLAND, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: PRODUCER AND CONSUMER INFLUENCES

BY

ZARAH CHUN

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS.

DEPARTMENT OF CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

Edmonton, Alberta
FALL, 1993

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **INUIT CRAFTS IN BROUGHTON ISLAND, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: PRODUCER AND CONSUMER INFLUENCES** submitted by ZARAH CHUN in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in CLOTHING AND TEXTILES.

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Date: July 2, 1993

ABSTRACT

Crafts provide an important source of income for people of various cultures worldwide. The Minnguq Sewing Group in Broughton Island, Northwest Territories manufactures and markets seal skin crafts which are based on traditional Inuit designs and local natural resources. The focus of this study was to identify how the Inuit members of the Minnguq Sewing Group and the non-Inuit consumers of their products affected the design, production, and the marketing of Minnguq crafts.

This research evolved from a community-based development perspective. I used research methods of informal interviews, observation, and participant observation to conduct fieldwork in June 1992. Interpretive analysis of the data revealed several cross-cultural influences on the crafts. The influences were cultural, social, economic, political, environmental, and physical. The multiple roles of the seamstresses which included their family, employment, and community responsibilities affected their participation in the enterprise. Traditional Inuit designs and consumer preferences affected the design of the crafts. The geographical location of Broughton Island and consumer markets imposed particular marketing and purchasing methods.

Knowledge of the context in which the Minnguq Sewing Group produces and sells its crafts creates an understanding of the factors that facilitate and inhibit craft development. This information may be used by other small businesses in northern Canada, or by similar economic ventures in developing countries.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Small enterprises play significant roles in developing an economy (Giamartino, 1991; Soon & Huat, 1990). Organizations based upon local resources, skills, and knowledge are fundamental in creating successful economic ventures (Blakely, 1989). Knowledge of these organizations' particular circumstances, and the needs of their producers and consumers, helps create an understanding of the factors that inhibit or facilitate the development of a small enterprise.

There are many small enterprises worldwide which manufacture crafts. Studies of craft production have been conducted in developing regions of Asia; Africa; and Latin, South and North America (Jules Rosette, 1984; Littrell, Stout & Reilly, 1991; Pye, 1988; Stephen, 1987; 1991). Previous research shows that there are often cross-cultural influences on the crafts, particularly when the craftspeople and the consumers are of different cultures (Baizerman, 1987; Jules-Rosette, 1984; Nelson, 1981; Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, 1990). There is limited research conducted with this intercultural focus on crafts made in the Canadian Arctic. The Minnguq Sewing Group (Minnguq) is an Inuit owned enterprise in Broughton Island, Northwest Territories, which manufactures and sells seal skin crafts to an external market.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this research was to identify how the Inuit members of the Minnguq Sewing Group and the non-Inuit consumers of their products influenced the design, production, and marketing of Minnguq crafts.

The objectives of this study were:

1. To identify the members of Minnguq (Minnguq Sewing Group) and their roles in the production of Minnguq crafts;
2. To identify the consumers of Minnguq crafts and their preferences;
3. To identify how the members of Minnguq and consumers influenced the design, production, and marketing of Minnguq crafts.

Operational Definitions

The following terms are defined to clarify their usage in this thesis.

Amautik: A traditional Inuit styled women's parka with a back pouch in which a woman may carry an infant or child (Driscoll, 1980).

Applied Decorative Design: "Embellishment or surface enrichment of an object. Decorative design may be inherent in structure or may be applied to a completed structure." (Belvin, 1984a)

Contemporary: Describes an object, symbol, design or skill that conforms to modern ideas of style at the present time (Oxford, 1989a).

Craft: An utilitarian and/or decorative object primarily created by utilizing hand techniques with some small tools and machinery using available materials and skills. The design and the quality of work are carefully considered by the craftsperson when creating the craft (Dhamija, 1989; Littrell, Stout, & Reilly, 1991). **Handicraft** is synonymous with craft. **Handcrafted** describes a production process as defined by craft.

Craftsperson: A person who manufactures crafts.

Culture: "The system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artifacts which the members of a society use in coping with one another and with their world, and which are transmitted from generation to generation through learning." (Plog & Bates, 1980)

Kamik: The Inuktitut word for 'boot'. Kamiks are primarily made from animal skins, such as seal or caribou, and woven materials (Hadlereena, Hadlari, & Jensen, 1986).

Piecework: A payment system that pays the craftsperson per completed product unit instead of per unit of time, or by another method (Ammer & Ammer, 1977).

Structural Design: Refers to how an object is created through the process of shaping and forming materials (Belvin, 1984b).

Traditional: Describes an object, symbol, design, or skill which is indigenous to the culture and is transmitted from generation to generation (Oxford, 1989b).

Ulu: A semicircular knife used by Inuit women for cutting skins, food, or other materials (Drysdale, 1967).

Limitations of the Study

There are four limitations which are identified. First, being a non-Inuit person and a non-resident of Broughton Island, I was unable to obtain an entire understanding of the context in which Minnguq and the people of Broughton Island produce crafts. Second, my lack of knowledge of Inuktitut compelled me to rely upon an interpreter when interviewing Inuit persons who did not speak English; and as a result, some information may have been lost, added or misinterpreted during translation. Third, the activities of Minnguq members directed when and what methods I used to learn about the enterprise's operations. For example, seamstresses were interviewed in their homes when they did not sew at the sewing shop. Finally, the field research depicts the operations of the Minnguq Sewing Group only within the time frame when I was in the field.

Delimitations of the Study

This study included the community members of Broughton Island who actively participated with the Minnguq Sewing Group as seamstresses, skin cleaners and tanners, board members, managers, and consumers. It involved selected seamstresses from Broughton Island who independently made and sold seal skin crafts. Also included is information from a

small number of consumers of other Inuit crafts in Broughton Island and Iqaluit, Northwest Territories who had not purchased from the Minnguq Sewing Group. This information provided insights into consumer preferences of crafts which compete with Minnguq crafts.

Geographical Location of the Study

Broughton Island, Northwest Territories

The community of Broughton Island is situated on the northwest side of Broughton Island at 67 degrees longitude, North and 64 degrees latitude, West (Northwest Territories Data, 1990a; Jacobs, 1975) (see Figure 1). This island, located off the southeast coast of Baffin Island, is in the Davis Strait (Northwest Territories Data, 1990a). The Inuktitut name of the settlement is 'Qiqitarjuaq'. In 1991, the total population of the community was 461 people. This population comprises 437 Inuit, 22 non-aboriginals, and 2 Metis (Bureau of Statistics, 1992).

The major economic activities of Broughton Island are marine mammal harvesting, tourism, and production of crafts. Some of the possible places of employment, besides the Minnguq Sewing Group, include the Hamlet Council, the Broughton Island airport, the Qiqitarjuaq school, the Tulugak Hotel, the Tulugak Co-operative Society, the Northern Store, and the Auyuittuq National Park (Northwest Territories Data, 1990a).

Iqaluit, Northwest Territories

Iqaluit is the largest settlement on Baffin Island, and is the Baffin Region headquarters of the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). It is situated near the northeast head of Frobisher Bay at 63 degrees longitude, North and 68 degrees latitude, West (Northwest Territories Data, 1990c) (see Figure 1). The population of Iqaluit was 3,552 in 1991, which comprised 2,255 Inuit, 1,277 non-aboriginals, 11 Dene, and 9 Metis (Bureau of Statistics, 1992).

Figure 1. Geographical location of study and surrounding communities.

Chapter II

Literature Review

In this section, literature related to economic development theory and craft enterprises is reviewed. The economic development literature entails the concepts of community-based economic development, women and economic development, and barriers to economic development. Literature related to craft enterprises includes small enterprises, and craft production in developing regions. Also reviewed is literature pertaining to the history of the Inuit arts and crafts industry, Baffin Island craft enterprises, and the Minnguq Sewing Group.

Community-based Economic Development

Early development theories concentrated on macroeconomic growth; however, they have evolved to include social and cultural concerns including quality of life and fulfillment of basic human needs (Blakely, 1989; Sen, 1988; Weissling, 1991; Welsh & Butorin, 1990c, 1990d). Researchers have noted the positive and negative impacts of development processes on people. They state the need for acknowledgement and integration of cultural and social factors into development plans (Boserup, 1970; Joekes, 1987; Robinson & Ghostkeeper, 1988; Welsh & Butorin, 1990b). Because these factors vary regionally, development initiators require an understanding of the context in which people live when they endeavour to address the people's needs through development activities (Giamartino, 1991; Graham, 1992; Lockhart, 1988b; Weissling, 1991). In community-based development theories, the people affected by the development process direct the nature of these activities (Korten, 1990).

Often the terms, *community-based development* and *community development*, are used interchangeably. For this study, the term *community-based development* is used to indicate community members as the directors of the development process; however, the term community development is used by certain authors cited.

Korten (1990) promotes community-based development under the term "people-centered development." According to Korten, "Development is a

process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations" (p. 67).

Barrett (1989) discusses the integration of personal development and community development theory. This approach encourages individual awareness and self development to enhance community development. Individuals who identify their own needs and act on them become aware of their power to change their lives and immediate surroundings. Interdependence replaces dependency as individuals take responsibility for fulfilling their personal needs. According to Barrett, individuals are therefore better able to contribute to society, and to understand and support the growth of other community members.

Community-based development promotes and sustains a process through which a group of people develops an understanding of their socioeconomic conditions. This process helps people to identify resources that are available to meet their needs (Butorin & Welsh, 1990a).

Weissling (1991) notes that development facilitators must be aware of and respond to Inuit needs, their socioeconomic conditions, and values in specific communities. Culturally relevant development plans are led by Inuit, and fully consider the effect development activities will have on the lives of individual Inuit.

Development plans which specifically address economic issues may include sociocultural aspects. Lockhart (1988a) maintains, in his description of community-based economic development, that needs determined by the community members are the basis of long-term commitments. These goals reflect the *well-being* or health of the community. He defines community-based economic development as a development model which reinforces cultural continuity by expanding economic options within the community.

A primary goal of community-based economic development is the promotion of self-reliance at local and regional levels (Lockhart, 1988b). Representatives of the Northwest Territories government and Inuit organizations also articulate this goal (Patterson, 1988; Simon,

1988). Federal and territorial governments, and Inuit encourage entrepreneurship to create economic opportunities which evolve from a community-based economic approach (Economic Council, 1990; Tapardjuk, 1988; Tatoosh, 1988).

Blakely (1989), defines *local economic development* as a process which involves creation of new institutions; development of alternate industries; improvement in the capacity of existing industries to produce higher quality products; identification of new markets; nurturing of new enterprises; and transfer of knowledge. Some researchers have noted that previous development approaches in northern Canada neither acknowledged nor utilized the knowledge of indigenous people (Boult, 1991; Lockhart, 1988a; Weissling, 1991). In contrast, a community-based development strategy acknowledges and actively incorporates local and indigenous knowledge, and local resources into the development process (Antoine, 1988; Blakely, 1989; Boult, 1991; Lockhart, 1988a; Weissling, 1991). Simon (1988) states, "It is important that Inuit across the Arctic develop their own initiatives to build a sustainable northern economy and thus shape their own future" (p.65).

Women and Economic Development

Women are an important human resource throughout the world and form one half the world population (USAID, 1990). They are critical to all developing economies since women are often the sole income earners in households, and spend most of their income on family necessities and education (Akande, 1992; Joekes, 1987; USAID, 1990).

Moser (1989), discusses the triple role of women. She identifies women's active involvement in *reproductive work* of childbearing and rearing; *productive work* of income activities; and *community managing work* to pursue various needs in their respective communities. Moser states that development policies and plans must integrate the significance of the three types of work and the constraints associated with balancing these roles. Previous initiatives have ignored these critical issues. Inuit women, for example, state that their workload has increased, both within and outside the home. In the past, they were

responsible for the care of children, camp maintenance, and food preparation. Today, beyond traditional responsibilities and increased household duties, many Inuit women are involved in community affairs and paid labour (Fennell & Fogwill, 1988; Pauktuutit, 1991). Furthermore, Moser points out that productive work is most esteemed because of its exchange value which undermines reproductive and community management work.

Engberg (1990) also acknowledges women's multiple roles. She discusses the concept of *whole economy* to include all forms of work or production by humans as having an exchange and use value. Engberg notes that the household economy overlaps both economic and social activities, all of which are important. Thus, it is necessary to identify these multiple demands when studying production activities which involve women.

Several authors point out that it is imperative to identify women's cultural and socioeconomic circumstances, which vary regionally, in order to formulate effective development programs (Adinolfi, Pomeranzi & Terzoli, 1984; Boserup & Liljencrantz, 1975; Dhamji, 1989; Loutfi, 1987; Moser, 1989). This is important because past economic development programs have not always improved the social and economic well-being of women. Frequently, programs have ignored women's economic situation because much of their work does not possess a monetary value. This exclusion has often lowered the social status of women (Adinolfi et al., 1984; Boserup, 1970; Joekes, 1987).

Many women are entrepreneurs and they own the majority of small enterprises in developing regions (USAID, 1990). These enterprises include those that manufacture traditional crafts (Boserup, 1970; Boserup & Liljencrantz, 1975) and integrate women's socioeconomic needs to create sources of income (Dhamija, 1989).

Craft enterprises exist in northern Canada, some which are operated by Inuit women. According to Fennell and Fogwill (1988) the needs of Inuit craftswomen are rarely considered in government based development of Inuit arts and crafts industries. Inuit women voiced the concern that they were left out of the decision-making processes regarding their particular arts and crafts sewing groups or centres.

This occurred when federal and territorial governments implemented development policies. In 1985, the territorial government's Department of Economic Development and Tourism carried out a Directive on Privatization which attempted to privatize the craft shops. This resulted in the closure of several sewing shops. Fennell and Fogwill state that, in some cases, the closures negatively affected the women's social and economic circumstances by ending a source of income and closing a place of social interaction. They reported that the sewing shops had created a social environment where the women supported each other. The shops allowed them to work with fewer interruptions than at home, and provided a monetary income used to purchase food and clothing for their families.

In a survey conducted by Pauktuutit, the Inuit Women's Association of Canada, Inuit women expressed a desire for the development of employment opportunities. Their suggestions included sewing and craft training centres (Pauktuutit, 1991). According to Fennell and Fogwill (1988), small craft enterprises not only are an important source of income for Inuit women, but they also provide a link to the past, to traditions, and to Inuit culture.

It is important for researchers and development agencies, involved in developing economic ventures, to respect and integrate the concerns of women. Integration of women's triple roles is necessary to create benefits for all involved. Small scale enterprises, which are owned and operated by women, not only may enhance the lives of the women, but also the lives of those who surround them. These lives are often dependent on the women for survival.

Barriers to Economic Development

Several elements may hinder the development of economic ventures. These elements include cultural, social, economic, political, environmental, and physical factors. Boult (1991) points out the manner in which development programs, targeted at Inuit in Labrador, failed because the initiatives lacked consideration of Inuit cultural activities. In particular, the training sessions did not allow for the absence of some Inuit community members during seasonal activities, such

as hunting, which occurred away from the communities. Yatsushiro (1962) and Weissling (1991) also commented that seasonal activities made it difficult for Inuit to adjust to wage employment with its specific demands in time commitment. A case study of Ikaluktutiak Co-operative Limited in Wuttunee's (1992) book of northern Canadian enterprises, reflects how the operations of an enterprise can successfully integrate Inuit lifestyles.

Both cultural and social factors can determine whether or not an arts and crafts enterprise can improve operations. According to Blanks (1974), aboriginal lifestyle, and social and family relationships, inhibited Alaskan arts and crafts co-operatives in the past. His study also determined that the members' view of the co-operative as a supplementary income source, instead of a primary one, resulted in low motivation to improve the organization's operations. Jules-Rosette (1984) discussed how the social organization and the cultural values of Masowe Apostles hindered the incorporation of new technology in their African tinsmith workshops. Alla and Chuta (1982) pointed out that development agencies' inadequate knowledge of the technological needs of craftspeople inhibits craft development. The lack of technological and management skills of craftspeople constrains small craft enterprises.

Economic constraints often occur because it is difficult for people in developing regions to gain access to financial resources. Government programs and banks may fund only established small businesses and exclude developing ones which do not have substantial equity or a long history (Boult, 1991; Nelson, 1981; Soon & Huat, 1990). Women, in particular, face barriers in securing loans and other financial resources (Joekes, 1987; The World Bank, 1990). According to Boult (1991), funding agencies may place restrictions on how the monies are spent. In effect, the structure of the program may be altered so that the original purpose, which was to meet community needs, is no longer possible.

Other economic barriers result when economic recessions and depressed world markets detrimentally affect development processes (Joekes, 1987; Nelson, 1981). Nelson (1981) discusses how external markets and consumer preferences can negatively affect handicraft

enterprises when the consumer preferences change or when the craftspeople are uninformed of external consumer demands; thus, difficulties can arise in manufacturing and marketing craft products. This is especially true when the craftspeople are not in direct contact with, nor have visited, the external market. Similarly, this also occurs when producers are not familiar with how consumers use the crafts.

Brewster (1988) suggests that slow political decision-making by the territorial and federal governments hinders Inuit art and craft endeavours. The divided jurisdictions within and between the two governments cause this constraint. Government support for obtaining raw materials is further hindered because there are no set policies regarding this issue.

On an international scale, the protests of environmental and animal welfare groups resulted in European and American government bans on seal skin imports. These political decisions have severely damaged Inuit economies as several countries are no longer open markets for Inuit industries which utilize seal and other fur-bearing animals (Boult, 1991; Northwest Territories Data, 1990b; Simon, 1988; Update on National, 1991; Worral, 1984). Tuchak (1991) noted that the American policy which forbids seal skin imports is a factor that influences the marketing of Minnguq products.

Environmental constraints can arise from the isolated geographical location of small enterprises in northern Canada. Convery (1990) states that remote physical location causes restrictions such as high costs in the shipping of raw materials. Unfavourable weather conditions may also prevent the arrival of needed supplies.

Sutherland (1982) noted that differences between Inuit and non-Inuit physiques caused difficulties for Inuit seamstresses making clothing for non-Inuit who they never saw. Women had always made clothing for their families and other Inuit people; however, when they began selling to non-Inuit they had to alter the sizes of the clothes. This physical difference between the producer and consumer hindered craft sales when seamstresses did not meet consumer sizing needs.

These examples of barriers to economic development reflect how

various cultural, social, economic, political, environmental, and physical factors affect small enterprises. Knowledge of how these factors influence both craftspeople and consumers of a particular craft can be useful in determining policies or procedures aimed at avoiding these barriers.

Small Enterprises and Craft Production

Ross and Usher (1986) include small groups of producers in their definition of small enterprises. People may form small community enterprises which are owned by the community. These enterprises are flexible in their operations and often rely on outside funding such as corporate and public grants, and membership fees. However, community-owned enterprises also sell their products to generate self-sustaining revenue.

In many societies, small manufacturing enterprises produce handicrafts and form important sources of primary and secondary employment in rural areas (Alla & Chuta, 1982; Capjack, 1990; Capjack & Fetterman, 1992; Jules-Rosette, 1984; Littrell, Stout & Reilly, 1991; Pye, 1988; Stephen, 1987; 1991). In developing countries, according to Casselman and Littrell (1991), crafts are the second most important source of income following agricultural production. Pye (1988) states that craft production is often a primary occupation in Asian countries. In the Northwest Territories, crafts account for approximately 22.5 million dollars of primary and supplementary income per year (Arts and Crafts, 1990).

In contrast to Moser's (1989) identification of potential exploitation of income generating activities for women, other researchers discuss the advantages of small enterprises. One advantage is that small enterprises can allow integration of family responsibilities and income production (Capjack, 1990; Capjack & Fetterman, 1992; Littrell, Stout & Reilly, 1991). This income is necessary for solving basic economic needs, pursuing a specific financial goal, or for purchasing particular material goods or services (Capjack & Fetterman, 1992; Littrell, Stout & Reilly, 1991).

According to Capjack and Fetterman (1992) there have been few

studies that focus on rural entrepreneurs and home-based businesses. Littrell, Stout and Reilly (1991) stated that there is a need for research exploring the behavioral characteristics of home-based craft producers operating in their social contexts. In effect, these researchers conducted a profile study of successful versus non-successful craft producers. Littrell et al. then recommended further studies which would focus on the entrepreneurial activities of craft producers in other geographical locations. They suggested research into craft producers who work in media other than fibre, clay, and wood; and into craftspeople who operate outside the home.

Dhamija (1989) stresses the necessity of research concentrated on the women's circumstances when developing a handicraft industry for women. She states that the organizational structure is more effective if built upon the traditional social associations that already exist among the women. Other primary socioeconomic factors to consider are the current and past skills of the women which can generate income; other types of income work performed by the women; whether or not the women require a primary or supplementary source of income; and which women are available for training and production work.

Assessment of resource and technological needs is necessary. For example, what are the needed raw materials? Are the materials available and processed locally? What are the costs? What are the production techniques used and which ones are available? How can traditional crafts be altered or new ones introduced without substantially changing the existing skills needed for their production (Dhamija, 1989) or without changing their culturally unique aspects? Pye (1988) says that crafts are losing their traditional motifs as they become mass-produced. He states, "Designs are one means of protecting a cultural heritage and [to] simultaneously enter new markets" (p. 63).

When marketing the crafts there are specific questions we need to ask. These include: who are the consumers? How and when do the craftspeople sell to them and at what price? (Dhamija, 1989). Are there intermediaries exploiting the craftspeople as Nelson (1981) noted? It is essential to address the above questions and socioeconomic factors when assessing the development of a craft enterprise.

According to Casselman and Littrell (1992), there has been very little focus on identifying the aesthetic and product preferences of potential external consumers who may purchase textile crafts (Littrell, Casselman & Johnson, 1990). This type of information is significant since craftspeople who manufacture crafts for external consumers cannot apply local market standards to other cultures or regional markets (Slaybaugh, Littrell & Farrell-Beck, 1990). There is a need for a holistic understanding of the market system's producers, distributors, and consumers. This knowledge is useful for the individuals involved in craft production to develop skills for long-term market evaluations, and for successful craft development (Casselman & Littrell, 1992; Dhamija, 1989).

Craft Enterprises in Developing Regions

The following studies, which focus on craft industries in the developing world, give insight into the development and operations of small enterprises. However, few studies analyze both craftspeople and consumer needs in relation to their influences on craft design, production, and marketing.

For example, case studies found in Pye (1988), which involve craft industries in Nepal, Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, focus primarily on the artisans' circumstances, government support programs, and export activities. Researchers studied both small artisan groups and large craft factories. However, among this pertinent socioeconomic information, there is little discussion of artisan influences and none regarding consumer influences on the crafts.

Stephen (1991) conducted four case studies in Latin America which involved the Otavalenos of Ecuador, the Nahua and the Zapotec of Mexico, and the Kuna of Panama. In this study, she discusses the successful self-managed economic development of indigenous crafts manufactured and marketed by these groups. She focuses on how these groups used their cultural identities and social structures to foster craft industries.

Waterbury (1991) describes the 'putting out' system in San Antonino, Mexico where the indigenous population manufactures embroidered apparel. He documents how tourist consumer demand spurred

the production of embroidered blouses and affected the design, production, and marketing methods used by the craftspeople.

In Northern New Mexico, Baizerman (1987) studied the relationship between traditional and contemporary tourist Hispanic weaving. She discusses how weavers, intermediary marketers, and consumers influence the design, production, and marketing of Hispanic weaving. Baizerman states, "A balance must be achieved between the needs of the consumer and those of the artisan" (p. 222).

Inuit Craft Enterprises

History of the Inuit Arts and Crafts Industry

This section provides a summary of the literature related to the development of the Inuit arts and crafts industry. The use of handcrafted items for trade began in the Broughton Island region in the 1840s when the whaling industry was established along the southeast coast of Baffin Island (Anders, 1967). When whale oil prices dropped following the discovery of petroleum and kerosene, the fashion demand for women's corset stays and bustles, made from whale baleen, maintained the whaling industry. During this time Inuit traded with European and American whalers (Anders, 1967; Northwest Territories Data, 1990b). The whalers traded items such as rifles, knives, tools, boats, and tobacco in exchange for carved objects, and skin clothing. Inuit women produced the skin clothing from skins supplied by Inuit hunters (Anders, 1967). In the early 1900s, the whaling industry became obsolete with the development of synthetic substitutes for whalebone. Besides hunting seals for food, Inuit began to hunt seals for their skins and they began to trap the Arctic white fox for external fur market demands (Anders, 1967; Graburn & Strong, 1973; Northwest Territories Data, 1990b).

Beginning in 1911, and continuing into the 1930s, the Hudson's Bay Company and other independent traders, established trading posts in the Baffin region. The traders then encouraged Inuit to supply desired furs in exchange for goods from the Company and the trading posts. During the Depression and until World War II, the prices of fox pelts fell drastically. Although prices increased during World War II, the fashion

demand for fox pelts severely decreased after the war. As a result, trapping no longer provided an economic base for Inuit (Duffy, 1988; Graburn & Strong, 1973). Later in the early 1960s, seal skins became popular for clothing items, particularly in Europe, which created a large market for seal skin products. However, in 1964, animal welfare groups campaigned against the methods used to kill seals in the Newfoundland region. As a result, consumers ceased to purchase seal skin clothing, and the prices of seal skins severely dropped, which collapsed the Inuit sealing industry in the Baffin Island region (Duffy, 1988).

Income through crafts was encouraged in 1930, when the Canadian Handicrafts Guild began promoting "Eskimo arts and crafts" with a private collection exhibit in Montreal (Watt, 1980, p. 11). Northwest Territories government employees also encouraged the manufacture of arts and crafts by purchasing carvings (Watt, 1980). James Houston, who was a key figure in the development of an Inuit craft industry, organized a successful exhibition of soapstone carvings in 1948. During the following years, he travelled to various Inuit settlements on Baffin Island and along Hudson Bay promoting the manufacture of soapstone carvings and other handicrafts (Graburn, 1970, 1978; Watt, 1980). Houston encouraged the use of alternative materials such as soapstone for ivory (Jenness, 1964), and introduced new artistic techniques such as printmaking (Graburn, 1978). He guided the content of Inuit drawings by suggesting the depiction of traditional Inuit life and requesting certain colours (Eber, 1971).

The federal government and wholesalers acted as intermediaries by purchasing and reselling the crafts. Major purchasers were the Canadian Handicrafts Guild and the Hudson's Bay Company both of which sold these crafts in southern Canada (Graburn, 1970, 1978; Jenness, 1964; Watt, 1980). However, according to Graburn (1970), the Hudson's Bay Company was sporadic in the volume of purchases, cutting back when the inventory of carvings became too high.

By the late 1950s, government officers, outside visitors, tourists, airline pilots, ship crews, and non-native residents had become the direct purchasers. Intermediaries, such as missionaries,

teachers, and government administrators, purchased carvings and then sold them in the South to their families and friends or to art dealers. Occasionally, a southern dealer would establish a temporary buying post in the north. The Canadian government promoted sales in the United States and Europe which opened new marketing channels (Graburn, 1970; 1976). In all these endeavours, carvings were the principal marketed crafts.

A co-operative Sculptures Guild began in the late 1950s, in Povungnituk, northern Quebec, which initially produced carvings and later included clothing and other handcrafted items. This venture, and other government sponsored producer co-operatives, stimulated the establishment of other Inuit co-operatives throughout the Northwest Territories. The co-operatives provided higher incomes to craftspeople by omitting the intermediaries (Graburn, 1970, 1976; "History at Glance," 1990). In 1964, Canadian Arctic Producers formed to act as the buyer and the distributor for most of the northern co-operatives and their crafts (Graburn, 1970).

During the 1960s, the Canadian government started several sewing projects that utilized traditional sewing skills (Jenness, 1964; Muehlen, 1990). Inuit women made traditional skin clothing and created crafts which they sold to non-Inuit residents and visitors. They used their techniques of applying decorative designs on seal skin kamiks to create seal skin prints, and to produce seal skin wallhangings and rugs. Seamstresses also created these items from woven fabric material and embroidery techniques (Graburn, 1978). Other crafts developed were seal skin mitts, bags, puppets, and stuffed toys. Inuit seamstresses adopted fabric materials to create clothing items for the external market. They also knitted sweaters, and made dolls and jewelry (Graburn, 1978; Sutherland, 1982).

Later in 1970, the GNWT (Government of the Northwest Territories) received the responsibility for Inuit arts and crafts development from the federal government. During the following decade, throughout northern Canada, many arts and crafts centres were established with hired arts and crafts officers. The government gave these individuals financial budgets specifically to develop craft projects. During the

1980s, the GNWT attempted to sell their craft shops to private entrepreneurs. Inuit co-operatives purchased some of the craft shops. However, the few shops that were privatized, closed due to economic infeasibility despite continued government assistance. By the late 1980s, the GNWT revived its support of the Inuit arts and crafts sector in an attempt to prevent further decline of the industry. The Department of Economic Development and Tourism (EDT) is responsible for Inuit arts and crafts. This department and the Department of Culture and Communication began providing grants for art and craft projects ("Crafts Production," 1990; Wray, 1991).

Currently, the GNWT is active in product development and market expansion schemes (Economic Development, 1992, 1991; T. Iwasaki and Associates, 1991) These schemes include incorporating new techniques with traditional methods, diversifying product lines, and conducting market research. Sewing enterprises have also received financial assistance for business counselling and education (Economic Development, 1991).

Previous research focusing on the marketing component of the industry dealt with the arts and crafts retailers in North America (Lutra Associates, 1990; "Who Sells," 1990). A consulting firm conducted a marketing plan regarding Inuit and Dene arts and crafts for the GNWT (John C. Williams, 1985). Fennell and Fogwill's (1988) study focused on craftswomen and their circumstances in several communities across the Northwest Territories. The study noted that craftswomen have difficulty balancing their childcare and family responsibilities with their craftwork. Income that women receive from selling crafts is a supplementary income necessary to purchase food, clothing, and hunting supplies for their families. The women needed managerial skills to improve their craft enterprises and they required a knowledge of how to write funding proposals.

A GNWT newsletter publication (Arts and Crafts, 1990) presented research conducted on the Northwest Territories arts and crafts industry, and gave strategies for its growth. The study noted that there is a need for product diversity because carvings are the predominant craft product. The labour force producing crafts is aging

and there is a need to attract younger craftspeople. Both craft skills and business training is necessary to facilitate the industry. The report stated that craftspeople need further information on consumer preferences; however, it identified that Canadian residents are the major purchasers of northern crafts and international tourists comprise one-third of the buyers. Consumers value uniqueness, quality, and prestige of the craft item. Price and significance of the craft to the consumer also influence their purchasing decisions. According to this report, research exploring the circumstances of aboriginal craftspeople and their consumer preferences is needed for the development of the arts and crafts industry in northern Canada.

Baffin Island Craft Enterprises

Presently, there are many sewing groups across the Northwest Territories. Baffin Island enterprises, in particular, include the Taqqutit Sewing Group in Iqaluit ("London, Paris," 1992) the Pangnirtung Tapestry Studio (Alia, 1989; Allerston, 1985; Mcleod, 1986; Spence, 1991) the Natsiq Sewing Group in Cape Dorset, and Igutak Products in Clyde River ("Centre of Inspiration," 1987). The literature related to these small enterprises consists of newspaper and magazine articles, and government publications. These sources provide some descriptive information about the craftspeople, the use of traditional and contemporary materials and technologies, and marketing methods. In addition, in Arctic Bay, Oakes (1987) documented the factors influencing the design and production of seal skin kamiks. The literature related to craft production on Baffin Island does not provide information on how both the Inuit craftsperson and the non-Inuit consumer can affect the design, production, and marketing of crafts.

The Minnguq Sewing Group

Individuals who have worked with Minnguq as part of a community-based development program created some literature regarding this enterprise (Chun, 1992b, 1993; Chun & Oakes, 1993; Kakivak, 1991; Kosmenko, 1991; Oakes, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Parrish, 1991; Tuchak, 1991). Oakes (1992a) documented environmental factors and cultural

barriers (1992b) influencing the production and marketing activities of Minnguq. Kosmenko (1991) and Tuchak (1991) both wrote summaries of the crafts developed during their product development workshops. These summaries contain some information on the technology and the marketing strategies used by Minnguq, and identify the consumers of Minnguq crafts. Tuchak (1991) and Oakes facilitated the development of a mail order catalog and the establishment of a fabric outlet within the Minnguq Sewing Shop.

Oakes (1991) provides profiles of Broughton Island Inuit seamstresses in her report for the Royal London Wax Museum. This includes profiles of the women who work with Minnguq. An Economic Development and Tourism newsletter highlights this project, and a magazine profile discusses the organization's current activities ("Inuit Clothing," 1991; "Sewing Up," 1991). Presently, there is no research which focuses on the producer and consumer influences on Minnguq crafts.

Chapter III

Research Methods

In this section I present literature related to community-based development methodology and qualitative fieldwork methods of informal interviews, observation, and participant observation. The use of this methodology and these methods to conduct this study is also presented.

The current research study evolved from a community development perspective. According to Graham (1992), community development activities identify research questions which reflect the community's needs. This approach is in contrast to conventional research methodologies in which the researcher creates the goals of the study. Community development research activities are participatory and receive the support and agreement of the community.

The development of Minnguq is an ongoing community-based project (Oakes, personal communication, 1992). Its organization's need for assistance with craft production and development of a mail order catalog initiated this research study. My illustration experience enabled me to assist Minnguq to continue developing their catalog. Therefore, before the field research, I illustrated and wrote the first draft. Field research data provided the information for interpretation of how the Inuit members of Minnguq, and the non-Inuit consumers influenced the crafts manufactured by Minnguq. I conducted field research in the community of Iqaluit, Northwest Territories from June 1 to June 3, and in the community of Broughton Island, Northwest Territories from June 4, to June 30, 1992. After completion of the field research, I completed the final draft of the catalog and sent it to Minnguq for the board to review (see Appendix A).

Qualitative Methods

I conducted the field research using the methods of informal interviews, observation, and participant observation (Ellen, 1984). According to Spradley (1980), these methods are effective for the study of phenomena which occur in their natural state. Daly (1984), states that fieldwork not only provides information essential for descriptive

and interpretive studies, but it also offers insights into the interrelatedness of cultural phenomena which is otherwise unobtainable. Information collected during field research often becomes more in-depth. The techniques I used in this study to employ the research methods were detailed field notes, illustrations, and photographs.

Researchers have used informal interviews, observation, and participant observation to conduct studies on textiles, clothing, and crafts. These studies focused on craft design, production, and marketing. They inquired into the circumstances under which the producers manufactured and sold their crafts, and identified consumer preferences.

Oakes (1992a) used participant observation and informal interviews to conduct research on Inuit craft producers in Broughton Island. These methods enabled her to identify cultural barriers to craft production. Popelka, Littrell, and Fanslow (1988) utilized informal interviews and participant observation methods to study Mexican craftspeople. Littrell (1980) used participant observation in a study of Ghanaian women's wax print textiles to identify the factors which influenced consumer purchasing decisions. Littrell observed the production and marketing of wax cloth and the use of wax cloth apparel in Ghanaian society. In this study, the analysis of documents provided insights into cloth sales, and informal interviews provided information on the production, marketing, and the use of wax cloth.

Graham (1992) encourages the use of informal interviews for community-based development research projects because this method fosters an open and participatory approach to research. According to Kemp and Ellen (1984), the use of informal interviews permits informants to speak more freely than in formal interview settings, and thus provides more in-depth information. The accuracy of an informant's statements and the researcher's interpretation of these statements can affect the validity and reliability of an informal interview. However, care in formulating the questions and accuracy interpreting the informant's answers increases the validity of the data.

Fennell and Fogwill (1988) utilized informal interviews and questionnaires for an inquiry into the activities and perspectives of

women creating arts and crafts in northern Canada. The report notes how the women in informal interviews openly discussed their roles and opinions. Oakes (1987) used informal interviews in her study of kamik production in Arctic Bay, Northwest Territories. She obtained information about the factors influencing kamik production and construction methods, design characteristics, and end use of kamiks.

The key informants whom I informally interviewed were seamstresses, managers, board members, development officers, and consumers. Interviews with seamstresses at the Minnguq Sewing Shop and in their homes provided information regarding the organization's history, production techniques, operation schedule, and consumers. They discussed why they did or did not work with Minnguq. Minnguq seamstresses identified which items they preferred to sew. Previous managers discussed their responsibilities as managers, and the organization's payment system, craft sales, and consumers. Discussions with the local and regional economic development officers gave insights into the current and past management of the enterprise. They provided information on the role of the federal and territorial governments played in financing the enterprise. Board members and seamstresses discussed the goals of Minnguq. Interviews with consumers produced information concerning craft purchases, methods of purchasing, and reasons for buying Inuit crafts.

In Iqaluit I observed consumers viewing a display of Minnguq crafts and observed their inquiries into the procedure to order kamiks from Minnguq. I observed residents and visitors interacting with the seamstresses while placing orders in the Minnguq Sewing Shop. These observations provided insights into cross-cultural communications between Inuit craftspeople and non-Inuit consumers. They also provided information of purchasing methods used by consumers.

I observed seamstresses working in the Minnguq Sewing Shop and in their homes. During these observations I noted both their production activities and the factors which affected their work. Observation of community events provided insights into the people's lifestyles and into how special events affected the members of Minnguq.

According to Spradley (1980), participant observation is an

effective method for field research because it enables the researcher to conduct informal interviews. This method may include the collection and analysis of documents which provide additional information about the studied phenomenon while interacting with individuals. Participant observation has high validity; however, its validity depends on the extent to which the researcher gains access into the research setting and is accepted by the informants. Reliability is lower with the participant observation method because it is impossible to replicate a social situation (Jorgenson, 1989).

I received a high level of access to the members of Minnguq when seamstresses invited me to observe them working in the sewing shop and in their homes. The board of directors allowed me to observe one of their meetings which gave me insights into the function of the board. Minnguq asked me to enter the organization's sales and expenditures into the ledgers. This activity provided insights into the volume of sales and labour costs. The chairperson asked me to telephone a client to arrange the delivery and payment of his order. During the week that I lived with her family, I observed her and her family's daily activities which provided insights into various elements affecting the chairperson's activities with Minnguq.

Participant observation facilitated the gathering of information related to Inuit lifestyles when I joined families on two camping trips and on a seal hunt. The seal hunt gave me insights into the retrieval of the type of raw materials that Minnguq uses to create its crafts. I observed a seamstress clean a bearded seal skin in her home, and I observed and participated in cleaning a ringed seal skin with another seamstress.

During activities at the Minnguq Sewing Shop, I received and analyzed documents from the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, which held additional information about the development of Minnguq. Business cards and a magazine advertisement provided information about the marketing of the crafts, and price lists offered price information (see Appendix B and C).

Interpretive Analysis

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), analysis of data begins with careful reading and rereading of field notes to identify any recorded patterns or unusual phenomena in people's beliefs, attitudes or behaviours. The information is then indexed into categories in relation to the research framework, and then analyzed further. This process often leads to the development of new categories (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Spradley, 1980; Touliatos & Compton, 1988).

For this study, I analyzed the field and literature data to construct a descriptive profile of Minnguq. Through analysis of the data, I identified and placed factors within cultural, social, economic, political, environmental, and physical categories. These factors affected both the Inuit members of the organization and the non-Inuit consumers.

I received organizational documents from Minnguq, and government documents from the Arts and Crafts Division of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Baffin Region. These documents were read thoroughly to understand their content. Subsequently, this information was placed into the analytical categories.

Chapter IV

Research Findings

This section describes the crafts and the members of the Minnguq Sewing Group. Consumers of Minnguq crafts and consumers of other Inuit crafts, their purchases and their methods of purchasing are also presented. I acknowledge those who contributed knowledge and time to this research to increase the reliability and validity of this study.

The Minnguq Sewing Group

History

In 1972-1973, Minnguq was established in a building owned by the community hamlet to create a central location where the women in Broughton Island could meet and sew together. Previously, they had gathered to sew in each others' homes. Non-Inuit who came to Broughton Island created a demand for the women's sewn items by purchasing their seal skin kamiks (Leah Audlakiak, personal communication, June 11, 1992).

The building which is 600 square feet, now owned by Minnguq, is known as the Minnguq Sewing Shop (Parrish, 1991). For several years, a wood stove heated the premises. Leah Audlakiak noted, "Even the telephone wires were frozen! We tried very hard" (personal communication, June 11, 1992). Since then the sewing shop has acquired electricity, gas heating, and a fax machine. The building has an office, a sewing area with a table, and a storage room for supplies and finished products. Minnguq has four industrial sewing machines, display shelves, and two freezers for skins.

The seamstresses define 'Minnguq' as a 'beetle' or 'lady bug,' and their business cards explain that the word means 'an industrious Arctic beetle' (see Appendix B). Lisa Kooneeliusie (personal communication, June 24, 1992) explained that 'Minngu' denotes the excess fat removed when cleaning an animal skin. The women associated with Minnguq may be addressed as 'Minngularriijiit' as this word refers to women who frequently clean seal skins.

During the mid 1980's, Minnguq received federal funding to hire a

manager and to establish itself as a business. Since then, tanning facilities have been added in two separate buildings. One building that belongs to the hamlet contains an industrial fleshing machine which cleans skins. The other is a new building, completed in February 1991, which houses new fleshing machines, dry tumble drums, and washing facilities. Minnguq purchased this specific tanning technology, with government financial assistance, from an independent tanning consultant and hired him to train individuals in Broughton Island in 1989. At the time of the study, Minnguq was attempting to receive government approval for meeting environmental standards, appoint a trainer for further training, and raise the necessary funds required to start the tannery operations (Shane Parrish, personal communication, June 29, 1992). In addition to installing tanning facilities, Minnguq diversified its craft line through product development workshops with both Inuit and non-Inuit consultants. Non-Inuit consultants from southern Canada worked with the seamstresses to develop contemporary products such as carrying cases and jewelry items (Kosmenko, 1991; Tuchak, 1991). According to Anna Joanassie (personal communication, June 28, 1992), an Inuit woman from Holman Island conducted an earlier workshop to develop products such as stuffed animals, slippers, and mitts.

Crafts

Seal skin clothing, indigenous to the Inuit in the geographical region of Broughton Island, provides the foundation for Minnguq craft production. Initially, the seamstresses of Minnguq primarily sewed traditional seal skin kamiks and these continue to be the principal craft today. They now make other traditional items such as mitts, parkas, pants, kamik slippers, hunters' bags, and stuffed animals. Seal skin comprises most of these items; however, the seamstresses use other types of skin, upon request, such as caribou, polar bear, fox, wolf, and rabbit (Yukipa Audlakiak, personal communication, June 29, 1992).

The diversified craft line includes contemporary products which are not indigenous to Inuit. These crafts include seal skin carrying cases such as purses, brief cases, portfolios, backpacks, pencil and eyeglass cases, wallets, and gun cases. Other manufactured items are

earrings, zipper pulls, puppets, wallhangings, and masks (Kosmenko, 1991; Tuchak, 1991) (see Appendix A).

Minnguq seamstresses make the crafts from three types of seal skin. The most abundantly used skin is from the ringed seal (*Phoca hispida hispida*), which Minnguq can use for all products made from skin. However, seamstresses also use the harp seal (*Phoca groenlandica*) for certain items such as kamiks and carrying cases. Manning and Manning (1944) and Oakes (1987, 1991) noted that Baffin seamstresses use bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) skin for kamik soles because it is the thickest and most durable seal skin. Minnguq seamstresses also use bearded seal for the soles of kamiks because of its durability (Leah Audlakiak, personal communication, June 11, 1992; Yukipa Audlakiak, personal communication, June 29, 1992).

According to Manning and Manning (1944), the best quality seal skins are available in the winter. However, quality skins are available all year except when the animals shed their hair in the months of May or June. Seemee Nookiguak and Ipeelie Audlakiak (personal communication, June 18, 1992) said that seal skins yield the best quality in late August and September because the animals have stopped shedding hair. Oakes (1987, 1991) states that young seals are preferred because their coats are silver and black. Nookiguak and Audlakiak (personal communication, June 18, 1992) confirmed this preference and said that the coats of older seals are yellow or brown because of a longer exposure to the sun. According to Oakes (1991), "Young seal skins are highly treasured for their rich contrast in colors and their deep texture" (p. 32). Historically, Inuit in the Baffin region have constructed seal skin clothing with contrasting inlays of light and dark haired skins (Boas, 1901-1907; Driscoll, 1987; Mathiassen, 1928; Oakes, 1987). Broughton Island seamstresses continue this tradition in the design of Minnguq crafts.

According to Kosmenko (1991) and Tuchak (1991) woven fabric is partially or completely used to construct Minnguq crafts. For example, seamstresses use wool fabric to manufacture duffle socks, slippers, and mitts. Seal skin kamiks have fabric trim and yarn ties. Seal skin cases close with zippers, snaps, metal closures, and caribou antler

buttons. Seamstresses use old mattress stuffing as a filling for stuffed animals. My observations confirmed the use of these various materials.

Fabric and other supplies, such as needles and thread, are available at the local Northern Store. This retail outlet predominantly sells groceries; however, it also sells clothing and hardware items. There is a limited selection of sewing supplies and they are expensive compared to supplies purchased from wholesalers. As a result, Minnguq prefers to order these items from southern Canadian wholesalers such as Davey Fabrics Incorporated in Edmonton, Alberta (Tuchak, 1991).

The enterprise purchases raw materials of seal skins from local community hunters (Sara P. Kooneeliusie, personal communication, June 25, 1992). According to Yukipa Audlakiak (personal communication, June 29, 1992), the price that Minnguq pays depends on the quality of the skin. Audlakiak stated that Minnguq may purchase a seal skin for as low as ten dollars or as high as twenty dollars or more. Kosmenko (1991) noted during her workshop that Minnguq purchased skins at twenty-five dollars.

Organizational Structure

The community of Broughton Island owns Minnguq; therefore, the organization can be classified as a community-owned enterprise. Although, Minnguq is currently a registered society with the Society Registrar, it intends to incorporate as an official co-operative in the future. The enterprise involves many community individuals. It comprises individual members, a board of directors and a chairperson, a manager, seamstresses, skin cleaners and tanners, and hunters (Shane Parrish, personal communication, June 23, 1992). These groups of members are interrelated because individuals are active in more than one group. For example, the chairperson who is a member of the board, cleans and tans skins, and sews crafts for Minnguq. At least two other board members also sew and prepare skins for the enterprise. The interrelation of the groups shows that there is no hierarchial power structure.

Members of the community may pay an annual membership fee of ten

dollars to become a member of Minnguq. There are over twenty members, both male and female. In the past, the members were entitled to a 10 percent discount on purchases of crafts and sewing materials supplied by Minnguq. However, this practice resulted in lost revenues, and therefore, the members decided to cease the discount of supplies during a public meeting. (Yukipa Audlakiak, personal communication, June 29, 1992).

Community members elect the Board of Directors through a public meeting where all community members are invited to attend and give nominations before a vote is called. Currently, the Board of Directors consists of eight voting directors and the local economic development officer as a non-voting member. Five new directors were chosen in an election in May 1992. Six of the members are women and two are men (Shane Parrish, personal communication, June 23, 1992). Occupations of the board members include a Canada Post Office worker, head chef at the Tulugak Hotel, assistant manager for the Hamlet Council, and a member of the Hamlet Housing Division.

On June 9, 1992 the Board held a meeting with two representatives from Sinaaq, an Inuit government organization that lobbies for funding to assist Inuit organizations. It was evident at this meeting that the role of the Board is to set and direct the goals of Minnguq. The Board assessed the organization's problems and identified strategies to resolve the issues. The representatives of Sinaaq met with the Board to discuss the needs of Minnguq which were to identify and pursue suitable funding sources. They gathered pertinent information from the Board to write an appropriate funding proposal for the enterprise.

The priority of the Board was to obtain financial support to begin the tannery operations, provide salaries for five seamstresses, skin cleaners and tanners, and to hire a secretary-manager. The Board said that their goal was to establish Minnguq as a self-sufficient enterprise. Because Minnguq receives financing from government sources, the enterprise is required to submit funding proposals to particular government agencies. The local economic development officer or representatives from various government agencies, such as Sinaaq, which lobby for government funds, write the proposals. As a result, Minnguq

relied on these individuals to formulate funding proposals on its behalf. However, the Board wanted to train a manager to write the proposals so that they would not have to rely on external agencies. This strategy would allow Minnguq to deal directly with the government funders, and thus become more independent.

The chairperson, elected by the board members, did several managerial duties. This action may have been part of her role as the chairperson or it may have been a result of the vacant manager position. Duties included the payment of invoices and seamstress piecework rates, and the receipt of consumer payments for purchased crafts. She transacted sales with a visitor and a tourist to Broughton Island, and fabric sales to the local seamstresses. The chairperson also organized craft orders. She contacted seamstresses over the telephone, or the Hamlet radio for those who do not have a telephone, to inform women that Minnguq needed seamstresses to fill the orders. She arranged for delivery of completed crafts to consumers. For example, she arranged the delivery of a seal skin purse to a consumer via her sister, who travelled by plane to the consumer's community for health services.

Orders may generally be the responsibility of the enterprises' manager, a position which had been vacant since January 1992. Past managers stated that they received the customer orders and relayed this information to the seamstresses. The manager informed the seamstresses when the products were to be completed, and then packaged and shipped the finished crafts to the buyer. Other responsibilities included ordering sewing supplies from southern Canada and purchasing skins from local hunters. The manager maintained financial accounts and overhead payments, and made payments to seamstresses, skin cleaners and tanners, and hunters. Additionally, managers sewed products for Minnguq when there were not enough available seamstresses (Anna Joanassie, personal communication, June 28, 1992; Jeannie Kooneeliusie, personal communication, June 29, 1992; Sara P. Kooneeliusie, personal communication, June 25, 1992). I do not know if the managers received piecework payment for their sewing; however, as managers they did receive a salary (Shane Parrish, personal communication, June 23, 1992).

Various women in the community have sewn with Minnguq since 1990. Based on the reports by Kosmenko (1991), Oakes (1991), and Tuchak (1991), and interviews (Ragalie Arnaquq, personal communication, June 29, 1992; Kilavaqe Kooneeliusie, personal communication, June 3, 1992; Sara P. Kooneeliusie, personal communication, June 25, 1992) at least twenty-two different seamstresses sewed for the organization. There were seven active seamstresses with Minnguq at the time of the research. They were between the ages of thirty-one and sixty-five years.

The oldest seamstress was sixty-five year old Martha Kopali (personal communication, June 24, 1992) who began sewing with Minnguq in 1979. Leah Audlakiak, who was sixty years old (Oakes, 1991), has sewn with the group since its establishment (Leah Audlakiak, personal communication, June 11, 1992). Anna Kakudluk (personal communication, June 25, 1992) was fifty-eight years old, Nellie Allen was fifty-four years old (personal communication, June 5, 1992), and Yukipa Audlakiak (personal communication, September 4, 1992) was forty-nine years old. Leah and Yukipa Audlakiak are current board members, and Martha Kopali was a board member in 1991. These seamstresses were born and raised in camps on the land where they learned how to make and wear skin clothing. They still enjoy spending time living with their families on the land. In contrast, the younger seamstresses, thirty-three year old Louisa Alookie (personal communication, June 24, 1992) and thirty-one year old Anna Joanassie (personal communication, June 28, 1992) were born and raised in Baffin Island communities.

Presently, all these seamstresses care for their families, and sew clothing for their families and for Minnguq. At times they combine these activities. For example, I observed Leah Audlakiak cooking meals for the children and cleaning the household while cleaning a bearded seal skin for Minnguq. Besides sewing for Minnguq, the seamstresses prepare raw skins for sewing. This involves cleaning and tanning the skins by using hand techniques. The women sew the products either by hand or machine, or by combining both methods. They also clean the sewing shop between sewing activities. Seamstresses work on their crafts and prepare the skins both at the sewing shop and at home. Their hours of work are self-determined and they may work at home any time

that they wish (Leah Audlakiak, personal communication, June 11, 1992).

When Minnguq receives an order, the manager or the chairperson informs the seamstresses. According to Leah Audlakiak (personal communication, June 11, 1992), an ordered craft is made by the seamstress who wishes to make it. When there are more than one seamstress willing to make the craft item, the seamstresses discuss and decide who is the best individual to construct that particular item.

Leah Audlakiak (personal communication, June 11, 1992), Martha Kopali (personal communication, June 24, 1992), and Nellie Allen (personal communication, June 5, 1992) said that they work with Minnguq because they enjoy sewing. The older seamstresses, Leah Audlakiak, Martha Kopali, and Anna Kakudluk prefer to make traditional items, particularly kamiks. Nellie Allen and Yukipa Audlakiak sew both traditional and contemporary crafts. Anna Joanassie and Louisa Alookie mostly make contemporary items (Kosmenko, 1991; Tuchak, 1991).

The seamstresses said that they need more people to sew for the enterprise, particularly during the winter when they receive more orders than in the summer (Leah Audlakiak, personal communication, June 11, 1992; Martha Kopali, personal communication, June 24, 1992). Leah Audlakiak and Martha Kopali said that their goal is to have many young women and children learning the Inuit skills of skin sewing at the Minnguq Sewing Shop. These older seamstresses act as teachers to young Inuit. Anna Joanassie said that she learns a great deal from them. Seventeen year old, Susie Audlakiak (personal communication, June 18 and 29, 1992), stated that she would like to sew with Minnguq because she believes that she would learn many skills from the elders. She has yet to try sewing with skins; however, she said that she will, and that she will learn the techniques from her mother. She predicted that she would first make a pair of kamiks. According to Leah Audlakiak (personal communication, June 11, 1992), the school teachers have brought children to the sewing shop to watch the women sew kamiks. Yukipa Audlakiak said that she would prefer payment to the seamstresses on a salary basis instead of the current piecework system. Presently, Minnguq pays the seamstresses once they complete the craft product.

Leah Audlakiak identified the consumers of Minnguq crafts as Inuit

and non-Inuit residents from other northern communities, and buyers from southern Canada. She and Sara P. Kooneeliusie (personal communication, June 25, 1992) noted that the Victoria Wax Museum purchased traditional skin clothing for an exhibit. Sara P. Kooneeliusie and Jeannie Kooneeliusie (personal communication, June 29, 1992) stated that the northern residents who purchased crafts, live in the Baffin Island Region, Northern Quebec, and the Keewatin District (see Figure 2). Sara P. Kooneeliusie said that consumers include residents in Iqaluit, and the Iqaluit Arts and Crafts Centre. She said that the enterprise received an order for kamiks from Europe which was needed for a north pole excursion. Kooneeliusie remarked that the kamiks were made very large to fit the 'big feet and long legs' of the non-Inuit consumers. Neither the seamstresses nor the ex-managers mentioned visitors or tourists to Broughton Island as consumers; however, I observed one tourist and a visitor purchase from the Minnguq Sewing Shop.

The organization receives most of its orders by telephone, fax, and mail. Visitors to and residents of Broughton Island order at the Minnguq Sewing Shop in person. If the sewing shop is closed, consumers may contact the chairperson to ask when they may view the crafts or place an order. This was the case when a visitor arranged a time with the chairperson to view the crafts at the sewing shop (Sulo Lehtinen, personal communication, June 16, 1992). Similarly, a local outfitter contacted the chairperson to arrange a time for his excursion group to visit the shop.

Consumers of Inuit Crafts

The following non-Inuit consumers were interviewed in Broughton Island and Iqaluit, Northwest Territories. They were local residents, a resident from Pond Inlet, a resident from Coral Harbour, and tourists from France and Canada. The residents are 2 retailers; 3 Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers; 3 GNWT (Government of the Northwest Territories) employees; 7 teachers; 2 travel agents; a nurse; the Iqaluit Research Centre manager; and a power, a phone, a heating, and a television cable technician.

Figure 2. Northern resident consumer market.

Tourists, in Broughton Island, were 5 individuals from France, who were taking a dogsled excursion, and an individual from Windsor, Ontario, who was hiking from Broughton Island to Pangnirtung through Auyuittuq National Park. Tourists in Iqaluit were the Schreiber family from Burlington, Ontario. They had been in Cape Dorset for three days and were in Iqaluit for a day before flying to Pangnirtung. The Schreibers (personal communication, June 1, 1992) explained that they "love Inuit art," and buy many carvings and prints from art auctions in southern Canada with which they decorate their home. A senior couple from Ottawa had travelled to Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung, Pond Inlet, and Iqaluit.

Consumers, who had purchased from Minnguq, were a tourist from France and northern residents who lived in the communities of Broughton Island, Iqaluit, Pond Inlet, and Coral Harbour. The Broughton Island residents were the local economic development officer and a teacher. Iqaluit residents were the GNWT arts and crafts supervisor of the Baffin region, a GNWT safety officer, the town manager, and an RCMP officer. A Bell Canada technician from Pond Inlet and a teacher from Coral Harbour were the purchasing residents from these communities. Consumers purchased seal skin kamiks, slippers, gauntlets, stuffed animals, portfolios, purses, and wool duffle socks from Minnguq. The tourist from France and the government safety officer purchased during the research study, and the other consumers had purchased previously from Minnguq.

A nurse in Broughton Island, and a television cable technician and an RCMP officer in Iqaluit purchased kamiks from independent seamstresses in Broughton Island. Iqaluit residents who purchased from other craftspeople were 3 teachers, 2 travel agents, 2 retailers, an RCMP officer, the research centre manager, and a heating technician. In Broughton Island, an RCMP officer, the local economic development officer, and 2 teachers purchased crafts from local independent craftspeople. The consumers' clothing purchases were seal and caribou skin kamiks and mitts, and seal skin or fabric parkas. Other items were seal skin and fabric wallhangings, stuffed seal skin animals, jewelry, carvings, and ulus.

In contrast, the museum curator at Nunatta Sunaqutangit in Iqaluit, did not purchase any products because she viewed wool duffle and seal skin crafts as artifacts. She believed that purchasing these items would result in a conflict of interest with her role as the museum curator. A heating technician in Iqaluit purchased seal skins and sent them to Winnipeg for commercial tanning. He intended to have a seal skin suit tailored from some of the skins (John Chapman, personal communication, June 1, 1992). The Iqaluit town manager expressed interest in purchasing seal skins to decorate new furniture.

The results of a consumer questionnaire survey, supplied by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (EDT), Baffin Region, showed that carvings were the most purchased Inuit craft. The survey was conducted at the Iqaluit Arts and Crafts Centre, from June until October 1990. Carvings appear to be the main product purchased by consumers whom I interviewed. Several residents who purchased seal skin crafts had also purchased many carvings. Two Iqaluit residents who did not purchase seal skin items only collected carvings. Consumers often first associated the word 'craft' with carvings when asked if they bought Inuit crafts. Similarly, carvings and original drawings were items most frequently purchased by tourists in Iqaluit. According to Grant Baker and Beth Beattie, (personal communication, June 2, 1992) the Schreiber family purchased thirty carvings in Iqaluit. The family informed me that they had purchased carvings, original drawings, and a wool duffle and cotton shell amauti in Cape Dorset. The couple from Ottawa had purchased carvings, original drawings, and an ulu. An outfitter from France purchased an ulu, from an Inuit artist in Broughton Island, to include in his collection of Greenlandic ulus.

Consumer Purchasing Methods

One method of purchasing is direct buying from an independent craftsperson who approaches consumers in their homes or work places. Broughton Island and Iqaluit residents had purchased crafts in this manner. They also placed orders with independent craftspeople, or purchased from a sewing shop. One Broughton Island resident expressed his preference for ordering directly from an independent seamstress

because he knew her crafts were of high quality. He preferred to purchase from her than from Minnguq where he believed that a seamstress with lesser skills may make the craft, which would result in lower quality work.

Tourists purchased crafts from sewing centres, arts and crafts shops, directly from craftspeople's homes, or from a craftsperson approached on the street. The Schreiber family said that they preferred to purchase crafts directly from the Inuit craftsperson because they felt that they were then directly supporting the Inuit. They stated that their collection of Inuit crafts will have more significance to them after meeting the craftspeople.

Both consumer groups purchased crafts as gifts, or upon request, for their families and their friends living in southern Canada (Cathy Lee, personal communication, June 5, 1992; Sulo Lehtinen, personal communication, June 16, 1992; Bob Longworth, personal communication, June 3, 1992; Shane Parrish, personal communication, June 23, 1992; and Herb and Lele Schreiber, personal communication, June 1, 1992). Indirect purchases occurred when a southern Canadian resident saw a craft item in a northern resident's family or friend's home in southern Canada. The southern residents then asked the northern resident to purchase and send a craft product to them. For example, a Bell Canada phone technician from Pond Inlet purchased many crafts from Minnguq for family and friends in southern Canada. The crafts were then sent to the southern buyer either by him or by Minnguq.

Chapter V

Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

In this section, I identify and discuss how economic, cultural, social, environmental, political, and physical factors affected the producers and consumers of Minnguq crafts who in turn influenced the design, production, and marketing of Minnguq crafts. Conclusions of the study and recommendations for future research follow this discussion.

Discussion

The model in Figure 3 illustrates the factors and their features which influence Minnguq crafts. The study identified that cultural factors are the most numerous influences, several which influenced both the producers and consumers. These are technology, aesthetics, quality standards, and consumer purchasing methods. Sewing and management skills are cultural factors which affected the producer, and the prestige value of the craft was a cultural influence on the consumer. Government support, cost of raw materials, and labour income are economic factors which affected the producer. The cost of the craft product was an economic factor found to influence consumers. Social factors which influenced the producers were the triple role of women and their social interaction, and social acceptance was an influencing factor on the consumers. Competitive products were a common environmental factor which affected both the producers and consumers. Environmental factors of raw materials influenced the producers, and lifestyle and living environment affected consumers. International bans on the importation of seal skin was a common political factor influencing both producers and consumers. A common physical factor which affected both groups was the physique of the consumer. The following text discusses how these influences affected Minnguq crafts.

Figure 4. Model illustrating cultural, social, economic, political, environmental, and physical factors which influence the producers and consumers, and in turn, affect Minnguq crafts.

Economic Factors

Government Support

Ross and Usher's (1986) definition of community-owned small enterprises is applicable to Minnguq. This is the case because Minnguq is owned by a community, involves a small group of producers, sells its products for self-sustaining revenue, and it receives financial support through public sources. The GNWT (Government of the Northwest Territories) support of product development and market expansion in the arts and crafts industry (Arts and Crafts, 1990; "Crafts Production," 1990; Wray, 1991) influences the production and marketing of Minnguq crafts. For example, Minnguq received government financial assistance to conduct product development workshops to diversify its craft line (Kosmenko, 1991; Tuchak, 1991). It received financial support to develop a mail order catalog which is to enhance the enterprise's

marketing capabilities to its external market (Shane Parrish, personal communication, June 23, 1992). The tannery which is financed by government sources has the potential to affect craft production by supplying tanned skins to the sewing group. Additionally, the tannery may generate income through the processing of skins from other communities.

Receipt of government assistance is made possible through the submission of the previously mentioned funding proposals. The goals of the Minnguq Board to write its own funding proposals and to become self-sustaining reflects the goals of community-based economic development as discussed by Lockhart (1988b) and voiced by Patterson (1988) and Simon (1988). The above endeavours of Minnguq, undertaken with government financing, illustrate that government support influenced the craft activities of Minnguq.

Cost of Raw Materials

Tuchak (1991) stated that Minnguq began to purchase imported raw materials from wholesalers in southern Canada. This practice avoided the high retail prices and limited selection available in Broughton Island. As a result, the change in suppliers increased the selection of raw materials from which Minnguq may choose and decreased the enterprise's supply costs.

Labour Income

The GNWT report (Arts and Crafts, 1990) states that the arts and crafts industry is an important source of income for older people who often have fewer income opportunities than the youth. The report also noted that income for craftspeople is well below the average employment income in the Northwest Territories. This is a reason for the disinterest of Inuit youth to enter the craft trade. Findings of the study conducted by Fennell and Fogwill (1988) showed that the arts and crafts industry did not attract women in the Northwest Territories because of the low economic return from making and selling crafts.

In Broughton Island, the seamstresses who represent a potential labour force for the organization have other available opportunities to

earn income. For example, in Chapter I the community profile identifies places of possible employment (Northwest Territories Data, 1990a). Additional places of employment are the Health Station and the Canada Post Office. The alternative places of employment offer salary wages for full-time and part-time positions. Women who work in a wage paying position are less likely to sew with Minnguq for two reasons. First, they receive a higher income from paid employment, and second, there are time constraints created by this type of work. This time constraint reflects the balancing of women's multiple roles as discussed by Moser (1989).

Another source of income for community seamstresses takes the form of direct craft orders from consumers. I met two senior seamstresses in the community who independently make and sell kamiks. The women may choose to sell independently because they often receive a higher income than when they sew for Minnguq. For example, one seamstress charged $185-$200 for a pair of kamiks, and the other seamstress sold a winter pair for $175 (Steven Leck, personal communication, June 10, 1992). According to Minnguq's latest price list, their kamiks sold at $265 for winter kamiks and $320 for waterproof kamiks. Seamstresses receive half this retail price, therefore, they receive either $132 or $160 respectively. The independent seamstresses earn at least $15 to $25 more by selling independently than through Minnguq. Furthermore, the lower price charged by independent seamstresses may be a factor why three consumers purchased from independent seamstresses in Broughton Island than from Minnguq. However, one consumer was not aware of Minnguq nor its products. As a result, Minnguq receives fewer sales, and therefore, less revenue when consumers decide to purchase from independent seamstresses.

The piecework payment system by which Minnguq pays the seamstresses may not attract community seamstresses. For example, one younger seamstress, approximately thirty years old, said that she did not sew for Minnguq because the piecework rate of 50 percent was too low. She also did not like the system because it does not pay the seamstress until she has completed the craft product. Therefore, the piecework rate and method of payment did not appear to provide an

incentive for this seamstress to join Minnguq. Her dislike of the piecework system reflects the goal, voiced by the chairperson and the Board, to pay the seamstresses on a salary basis in place of piecework rates.

Cultural Factors

Technology

Inuit developed specific techniques and tools to use the available natural resources to make the kamik. Tools and techniques used for skin preparation and sewing by Inuit in the Broughton Island region have been recorded (Birket-Smith, 1929; Boas, 1901-1907; Chun, 1992a; Driscoll, 1987; Hadlereena, Hadlari, & Jensen, 1986; Hatt, 1969; Oakes, 1991, 1987). Construction methods, such as using the teeth to chew the seal skin to soften it for sewing or making a waterproof running stitch to fasten the sole to the upper kamik, reflect Inuit culture. They also influence the production methods used to manufacture Minnguq crafts. Minnguq seamstresses use traditional skin preparation and sewing techniques to create the kamiks which they sell. For example, Leah Audlakiak hand cleaned a bearded seal skin which Minnguq needed for kamik soles. Martha Kopali used traditional construction techniques to make a pair of kamiks.

The women who work with Minnguq are proud of their sewing skills. Yukipa Audlakiak (personal communication, June 29, 1992) stated that Inuit sew with various animal skins, such as seal, caribou, and fox. She described past usage of seal skin to construct tents and kayaks. Driscoll (1987) noted the historical use of seal skin for these items in addition to storage bags, water buckets, and harpoon lashing. She stated, "As an artisan, the Inuit seamstress ranked among the most innovative and skilful craftspeople in the world" (p. 200). Audlakiak expressed the tradition of skin sewing when she said, "We can make any kind of clothing from skin. We've been sewing with skin from a long time ago. We'll never lose that."

Modern technology, however, can replace traditional skin preparation methods. Minnguq seamstresses may manufacture their crafts

with mechanically and chemically treated skins or with hand tanned skins. The enterprise purchases tanned skins from commercial tanneries in southern Canada (Kosmenko, 1991). According to Shane Parrish (personal communication, June 29, 1992) and Robert Higgins (personal communication, June 9, 1992), the tannery in Broughton Island offers an alum tan. The process used to achieve an alum tan involves both chemical and mechanical tanning techniques. Use of differently prepared skins affects the tactile characteristics of a seal skin product. For example, commercially treated skins are softer and more pliable than hand tanned skins. Kosmenko (1991), noted this difference and suggested that design changes may have to occur in certain crafts. She suggested that the carrying cases may need a lining to prevent the softer commercially tanned skins from stretching out of shape.

Another difference between traditionally and chemically treated skin is the olfactory characteristic of the seal skin. Chemical treatment of a seal skin diminishes the odour of the seal which is often strong in the hand prepared skins. This factor is significant because some non-Inuit do not recognize nor like the odour of seal which influences their purchasing decision. A document regarding Minnguq noted this phenomenon. The report titled, "Some suggestions pertaining to the marketing of seal skin products," was prepared for the Baffin Arts and Crafts division of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism. The report states, "Traditional methods of preparing seal skins for product use ultimately limits the market appeal of the item. The southern market place is not acceptant of sealskin products which have a 'strong' odour." Similarly, the Schreiber family stated that they did not purchase a pair of seal skin mitts because of the odour of the mitts (Lele and Marnie Schreiber, personal communication, June 2, 1992). This was also the case with the senior couple from Ottawa. The wife said that a pair of seal skin mitts she tried on "smelled."

In contrast, the commission that Minnguq received from the Royal London Wax Museum was to construct clothing with traditionally prepared skins. The clothing items were for an Arctic exhibition depicting Arctic explorers and Inuit living in the region of Broughton Island in the mid 1800s. The museum valued the authenticity of the materials, and

the clothing design and construction. Therefore, the seamstresses used traditional skin preparation techniques to prepare the raw materials and hand sewed the items (Oakes, 1991). This purchase provided several thousand dollars to Minnguq and the community of Broughton Island (Oakes, personal communication, September, 1991). Not only does a museum commission such as this one provide income to Inuit, but it encourages cultural skills.

Therefore, different markets place dissimilar values on traditionally prepared skins. Consumers less concerned with the authenticity of skin clothing as a craft item, may prefer commercially tanned skins because of their mild odour of the animal. However, museums prefer traditionally tanned skins to increase the authenticity of the clothing as cultural artifacts.

Not only are there differing techniques for preparing the seal skins, but seamstresses may use either traditional or mechanical sewing techniques to craft these materials into an object. For example, seamstresses use both hand and machine sewing techniques to manufacture seal skin slippers, portfolios, back packs, purses, and fanny bags. They use a sewing machine to make small change purses. However, seamstresses make kamiks, mitts, parkas, and puppets completely by hand. When the seamstresses use hand tanned skins, they sew the crafts by hand because if they use a machine the needle creates a perforated line, which causes the skin to easily tear (Kosmenko, 1991).

Sewing Skills

Three of the women among the most prolific producers for the sewing group are between the ages of fifty-eight and sixty-five. These women are adept at sewing the traditional skin items such as the kamik. Furthermore, they prefer to sew traditional skin clothing. Based on Kosmenko's report (1991) and my field research, three younger seamstresses, from the age of thirty to fifty-five years, sew both traditional and contemporary craft items for Minnguq. Young seamstresses, such as Susie Audlakiak (personal communication, June 18, 1992), may not sew kamiks because they do not yet have the requisite skills.

Aging labour forces in the Inuit arts and crafts industry is a concern of the GNWT (Arts and Crafts, 1990). Fennell and Fogwill (1988) pointed out the significance of this factor which influences craft production. Both studies acknowledge the elder's concern that their culture is losing traditional skills, such as skin sewing, and that there is a need to attract younger seamstresses and craftspeople.

However, young women in Broughton Island are interested in learning skin sewing as expressed by seventeen year old, Susie Audlakiak (personal communication, June 18, 1992) and Sara P. Kooneeliusie (personal communication, June 25, 1992) who is approximately twenty-seven years old. A difference between older and younger women in Broughton Island is that the older women learned skin sewing skills at a young age. They learned these skills for survival purposes to live on the land (Fennell & Fogwill, 1988). In contrast, the younger women did not learn these skills under the same circumstances because they grew up in communities where skin clothing was not a necessity. Oakes (1987) noted that in Arctic Bay older women began sewing with skins by the age of fourteen, and that many younger women had not yet learned to sew kamiks. Because Inuit women's roles have changed, women begin skin sewing at different ages in their life. Although some women begin to learn skin sewing at an older age than women in the past, they can attain a high level of proficiency. Hence, they acquire and continue this cultural knowledge and skill (Jill Oakes, personal communication, May 31, 1993). The interest and attainment of cultural knowledge are important to communities actively pursuing community-based economic development because this development approach encourages cultural continuity (Blakely, 1989; Lockhart, 1988b). Furthermore, cultural knowledge and skills provide the foundation for craft enterprises.

Management Skills

Alla and Chuta (1982) stated that a lack of managerial skills is an important barrier to craft development. The craftswomen in Fennell and Fogwill's study (1988) identified that they lacked managerial skills which would have improved the operations of their craft enterprises. They stated their need for knowledge about "ordering, pricing,

marketing, keeping books and keeping track of orders and inventory" (p. 33). They also recognized that not all of the women wanted to learn these skills, yet there were women interested in this type of work (Fennell & Fogwill, 1988). These business skills were not developed initially within the Inuit culture, and therefore, they can create a constraint in the development of an Inuit craft enterprise.

The operations of Minnguq reflect the difficulties which can be caused by a lack of management skills. The absence of a manager created a need for someone to perform managerial duties. Many of these responsibilities were fulfilled by the chairperson. These activities included payments for local raw materials; piecework and overhead costs; and receiving and shipping orders to consumers. However, records in the enterprise's account ledgers were not updated since January. This is when the manager ceased working with Minnguq. When supplies purchased from southern Canada depleted, the chairperson did not know from where to order the materials. This caused the depletion of imported materials which affected the craft design.

For example, when the supply of an imported material was depleted, the seamstress used another material to construct the craft. I observed this phenomenon when Minnguq did not have black seal skin leather which is used as a trim on purses. As a solution, the seamstress used red seal skin leather for the trim. This changed the visual aesthetics of the craft object. However, the material substitution did not affect the craft's appeal to the consumer who was satisfied with the result (Sulo Lehtinen, personal communication, June 16, 1992). The geographical location of Minnguq's suppliers in southern Canadian, in relation to Broughton Island, does not make imported raw materials readily accessible.

Aesthetics

Kamik designs created by Inuit seamstresses reflect cultural beliefs and aesthetics. Freeman (1978) stated that there are gender differences in kamik designs. Inuit construct women's kamiks so that the animal hair runs horizontally around the kamik leg, whereas the hair runs vertically downward on men's kamiks. Broughton Island seamstresses

Martha Kopali (personal communication, June 24, 1992), Ragalie Arnaquq and Jeannie Kooneeliusie (personal communication, June 29, 1992) confirmed this gender specific design (Chun, 1992a). The seamstresses decorate traditional women's kamiks with integral horizontal stripes around the leg section; however, they decorate men's traditional kamiks with a vertical stripe down the center front of the leg (see Figure 4). These specific gender designs affect both the structural and the applied decorative design of the kamiks sewn by Minnguq.

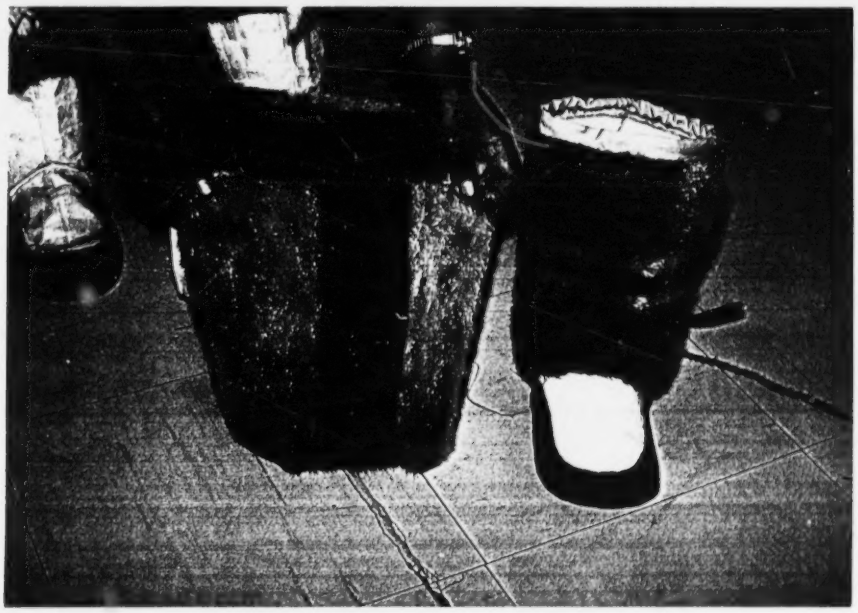

Figure 4. Traditional men's (left) and women's (right) kamik designs.

Consumer aesthetic preferences have an effect on the purchases of Minnguq crafts in that they cross these traditional gender roles. For example, Marnie Schreiber decided to purchase the traditional Inuit men's kamik style offered by Minnguq despite being informed that this style was for men. Her aesthetic preference prevailed over the gender significance of the craft design. The design signifying gender is a cultural symbol. However, the craft's symbolic meaning to the producer from one culture does not necessarily have the same significance to the consumer from another culture.

The gender specific kamik designs are not the only applied decorative designs found on seal skin kamiks. Oakes (1987), documented that Arctic Bay seamstresses incorporated geometric designs into their kamiks until the 1950s. By the 1970s, they decorated kamiks with flowers, logos, and letters. She noted that kamiks with the more complicated designs were not always created to follow the gender specific designs.

According to Ragalie Arnaquq and Jeannie Kooneeliusie (personal communication, June 29, 1992), Broughton Island seamstresses began incorporating new applied decorative designs in the 1970s to distinguish their kamiks from those of other seamstresses'. Geometrical shapes of triangles, ovals, and zigzags began to appear within kamik stripes. Variations of these inlayed figures are incorporated into Minnguq's kamiks. Kosmenko (1991) noted that the Inuktitut syllabics for 'Minnguq' were incorporated into carrying cases made by Minnguq, which I also observed. The change in the shape of the materials alters the construction of the kamik, and therefore, influences the kamik's structural design. The differently shaped materials have an effect on the applied decorative design because they change the visual aesthetics of the kamik.

Aesthetics of a craft play an important role in the exchange of the craft between the producer and the consumer. In this study, consumer aesthetic preferences were found to influence the designs of Minnguq crafts. Yukipa Audlakiak (personal communication, June 29, 1992) said that the enterprise receives design ideas from non-Inuit consumers. She gave the example that non-Inuit may bring a sample of an item that they want, and the seamstresses will make it in whatever material requested. "We make all kinds of designs. Anything." (Yukipa Audlakiak, personal communication, June 16, 1992). Sutherland (1982) noted that in the past Inuit seamstresses had adapted traditional Inuit clothing designs and manufactured new products for external markets. The diversification of Minnguq's craft line to produce contemporary products for an external culture shows a similar influence on the crafts manufactured by Minnguq. Not only do consumer requests for customized designs affect the craft, but the seamstresses' ability and willingness

to manufacture these special designs are influencing factors. The seamstresses' acceptance of customized orders shows that they are willing to meet consumer needs.

The GNWT study (Arts and Crafts, 1990) and the EDT consumer survey found that originality in the craft design was a high factor which influenced the purchasing decisions of consumers. The desire for customized designs by interviewed consumers and Minnguq's consumers supports this consumer preference for unique craft designs. Consumers involved in the EDT survey also liked to purchase items as souvenirs which depicted the Inuit culture to them.

Prestige

The GNWT study (Arts and Crafts, 1990) noted that consumers valued a craft item for its image of prestige. One consumer whom I interviewed perceived seal skin crafts to have a prestige status, which influenced his purchasing decision. The GNWT employee purchased seal skin slippers, purses, and portfolios and said that he purchased the crafts because they are "different, distinctive, and ostentatious." He elaborated by describing the impression that the portfolio would make on his colleagues in Toronto when he would place it upon a desk to remove his papers. He predicted that they would admire the seal skin and want to "stroke and touch the fur." This consumer appears to value the Inuit seal skin craft as a prestigious item.

Quality Standards

The EDT consumer survey showed that higher product quality had a positive effect on consumer purchasing decisions. Similarly, Dhamija (1989) stressed that there is a necessity of high quality work in crafts. She stated that a finished item unusable for its intended purpose results in low sales and poor publicity for a craft enterprise. Oakes (1992b) noted that different cultural perceptions of quality standards by seamstresses created a constraint for Minnguq. I observed that when Minnguq did not meet particular consumer standards, the consumers returned their purchased craft or cancelled their order. For example, a teacher from Coral Harbour had ordered from and prepaid

Minnguq for a seal skin parka. However, he cancelled the order and requested a refund when Minnguq's delivery time was too long. Thus, the organization issued a refund and received a loss in sales. One consumer stated that he preferred to purchase his kamiks from an independent seamstress because he was concerned with the quality of Minnguq's craftwork.

Nevertheless, Minnguq is reknown for its high quality kamiks. The Bell Canada technician from Pond Inlet was a repeat customer because he believed that the enterprise's craft quality was extremely high. This created an increase in craft sales since he continued to buy not only for himself, but also for his family and his friends.

Purchasing Methods

Methods of ordering from Minnguq can have an effect on craft sales. Tourist, Marnie Schreiber, was prepared to place an order for Minnguq kamiks in the Iqaluit Arts and Crafts Centre. However, she was deterred because she had to complete an order form and mail it directly to Broughton Island. Her parents advised her to wait and order the kamiks once they returned to their home in southern Canada. The extended time between viewing the products and then ordering an item after a tourist returns to her or his own cultural environment may influence the decision to purchase. The Schreibers said that the personal contact with Inuit made their purchased crafts more special. Herb Schreiber said, "Speaking and dealing directly with the artists makes the difference. We would buy anything from them, but not at the stores. You know the money is going directly to them, and it's more meaningful having been with them. They'll talk to you for hours and show you things." The consumer preference to have personal contact with the craftsperson indicates that consumers are more likely to buy when purchasing directly from the craftsperson.

Product information that is available to the consumer at the time and place of purchase can have an effect on consumer purchasing decisions (Kosmenko, 1991). The GNWT safety officer from Iqaluit, who was in Broughton Island for business purposes, purchased directly from Minnguq. He preferred to view product samples; however, Minnguq did not

have a complete sample selection available. The consumer then suggested that a catalog with a price list, and product samples would assist buyers at the sewing shop. At the time of his suggestion he did not know that the enterprise was currently developing a catalog. He also stated that it was difficult to ascertain when the sewing shop would be open, so he could view the products (Sulo Lehtinen, personal communication, June 16, 1992).

When non-Inuit consumers purchased directly from the sewing shop, evidently communication and understanding were needed between the seamstresses and consumers of two different cultures and languages. For example, the outfitter from France removed his wallet and asked if he should pay immediately for his craft product. The chairperson looked at him and raised her eyebrows. When the tourist did not receive a verbal response he inquired if he should then wait until his return from a ten day excursion. The chairperson did not respond, and thus he replaced his wallet into his coat. Perhaps the chairperson used this facial expression to signify that the consumer could pay at the time of ordering. During my stay in Broughton Island, I observed that Inuit raised their eyebrows to indicate a yes, an agreement, or a surprise. However, the tourist did not understand the significance of this nonverbal gesture and therefore, he did not further inquire or pay the chairperson at that time. The chairperson also may not have meant for the buyer to pay immediately because consumers also pay after the craft is completed. In this case, cross-cultural communication between the craftsperson and consumer influenced the method of payment.

Social Factors

Labour Force

Although there are active men on the Minnguq Board and male individual members, women in the community of Broughton Island primarily operate Minnguq. Their circumstances have an effect on the enterprise's craft production and sales. Moser's (1989) concept of the triple role of women can be applied to the women working with Minnguq. The female board members and seamstresses performed productive, reproductive, and

community management work, which required the women to balance their time and energies.

The seamstresses integrated their reproductive and productive work at the Minnguq Sewing Shop when they brought their children to the shop and cared for them while sewing. Similarly, when the women prepared seal skins or sewed crafts in their homes, they combined their craftwork with preparing meals, cleaning the household, and visiting with their families. Oakes (1992b) stated that family needs received priority over craft production activities. I observed that two women who were both board directors and seamstresses had other income generating work in which they integrated their activities with Minnguq. The income received by the two women who sell kamiks independently may not be the only factor to influence their independence. One seamstress spends her time helping her husband and son with their outfitting business. Furthermore, sewing clothes for their families occupied both women. The integration of productive and reproductive work demonstrates how women attempt to balance their family responsibilities and their craft production. It also shows how economic and social work overlaps in the household as discussed by Engberg (1990).

Oakes (1992b) noted that community activities received priority over Minnguq's craft production. She recorded that Broughton Island seamstresses who worked with Minnguq were involved in several community organizations (Oakes, 1991). The organizations are the local Hamlet, the School Board, the Anglican Church, the Alcohol Committee, the Women's Auxiliary, the Adult Education Council, and the local Co-operative. I also found that Minnguq board members and seamstresses are members of these various community committees. The activities of these committees can preside over Minnguq's. For example, Minnguq postponed a board meeting because the local Co-operative held a meeting on the same evening. Another community management responsibility which occupied the members of Minnguq was a local court session. The court called most of the community members for jury selection, which required the seamstresses of Minnguq to be present for the afternoon.

The balancing of productive, reproductive, and community management work, by the women making crafts with Minnguq, reflects a

similar situation as identified in Fennell and Fogwill's (1988) study and in the survey conducted by Pauktuutit (1991). Findings of these studies show that Inuit women have multiple roles which place time constraints on their daily lives. Fennell and Fogwill noted that the multiple roles of northern craftswomen, in particular, created difficulties for craft production. They also found that women were not attracted to making crafts because they perceived craftwork low in social status.

The integration of productive, reproductive, and community management work shows that Minnguq operates like a community-owned enterprise. Ross and Usher (1986) characterized this type of small enterprise as flexible and to encompass social aspects of the involved individuals. The Minnguq Sewing Shop provides a social sphere for the women. Kosmenko (personal communication, December, 1991) and Tuchak (1991) stated that social interaction among the women working at the sewing shop was an important aspect to their work. I observed that the women spoke among themselves, listened to the radio, and took occasional tea breaks while sewing. One seamstress said that she preferred to sew at the sewing shop when other women were present. The social interactions among the women reflect the findings of Fennell and Fogwill (1988) and show the social significance of a craft enterprise as discussed by Dhamija (1989).

Social Acceptance

The production of crafts may meet social needs of the producer, whereas, the use of the craft item may function to meet social needs of the consumer. Two non-Inuit consumers stated that they enjoy wearing kamiks because they believe it is a socially acceptable item for them to wear within the Inuit community. Steven Leck (personal communication, June 10, 1992) stated that he enjoyed wearing kamiks because he perceived them to be socially acceptable. Grant Baker (personal communication, June 2, 1992) said that he wore his seal skin kamiks when visiting other Baffin Island communities to show his respect for the Inuit culture. Because these consumers believed that Inuit accepted the use of kamiks by non-Inuit, they felt comfortable to wear them. This

influence shows how the craft item may be important for social interaction between Inuit and non-Inuit residents.

Environmental Factors

Raw Materials

Natural resources available in the region of Broughton Island play an important role in the craft production of Minnguq. This region's historical and current richness, in marine mammals provides the people with an abundant supply of ringed seals (Broughton Island, 1990; Kemp, 1976). The Inuit artist, Pitseolak, described the significance of seal skin as the primary resource Inuit used to protect themselves when they lived on the land (Eber, 1971). Today, seamstresses continue to use natural and renewable resources from the surrounding environment to make protective seal skin clothing which have been used by Inuit for centuries (Science Council, 1991). Several researchers have documented the historical use of this resource for clothing in the Baffin region (Boas, 1901-1907; Driscoll, 1987; Manning & Manning, 1944; Mathiassen, 1928; Oakes, 1987). Contemporary use of seal skin to create marketable products continues cultural skills and knowledge.

The supply of raw material is a constraint identified in the GNWT report which assessed the Inuit arts and crafts industry (Arts and Crafts, 1990). The report says that shortages of tanned skins and other natural materials create difficulties for northern craftspeople. Production of Minnguq crafts depends on the availability of raw materials. A delay in the production of kamiks exemplified this dependency when seamstresses had to wait for the capture of a bearded seal to manufacture kamik soles. Manning and Manning (1944), Mathiassen (1928), and Oakes (1987) noted that Inuit used bearded seal skin to make the kamik sole because it is the thickest seal skin. When bearded seal skin was unavailable seamstresses substituted harp or ringed seal skin to construct the kamik sole which decreased the durability of the sole (Manning & Manning, 1944; Oakes, 1987).

Consumer Lifestyle and Living Environment

The lifestyle of consumers and the environment in which they live can influence their purchasing decisions and the time of their purchases. I interviewed a nurse and 2 teachers in Broughton Island, and an Iqaluit RCMP officer who said that they purchased skin clothing because it provided warmth and protection from dampness when spending time on the land (Cathy Lee, personal communication, June 5, 1992; Steven Leck, personal communication, June 10, 1992). In contrast, an Iqaluit retailer stated that he did not purchase these items because he was not often outdoors in the winter. Therefore, resident consumers appear to purchase these items for protection against the Arctic conditions in which they live. Their need for skin clothing depended on whether or not they spent time outdoors and travelling on the land. These items were worn during the winter which is a period that correlates with the highest period of Minnguq's consumer demand.

In contrast, the results of the EDT questionnaire survey show that consumers who lived in a warm environment refrained from purchasing seal skin clothing. The warmer environment, in which tourists from southern Canada live, may cause a different use of craft products other than protection from the elements. For example, Marnie Schreiber intended to wear a pair of kamiks in Burlington, Ontario. However, her father stated that the environmental conditions were too warm and that the kamiks would also become soiled. She then decided to hang the kamiks, from Minnguq, on the wall in her home to preserve them.

Northern residents reported other functional characteristics of seal skin kamiks. A nurse, Steven Leck (personal communication, June 10, 1992) preferred to wear his kamiks when he conducted home visits to his patients. He preferred kamiks because he could avoid the effort needed to remove and then replace his footwear when entering and leaving a residence. He explained that because his kamiks do not have treads, he can brush off the snow on his pant leg and then enter the dwelling. Grant Baker (personal communication, June 2, 1992), the GNWT arts and crafts supervisor for the Baffin region, wore his kamiks when doing errands on the weekend because this activity required him to move from outdoor to indoor environments. He did not, however, wear his kamiks

during the week when he spent most of his time working in an office where it was warm and dry.

Competitive Products

There are alternative products available in Broughton Island and the surrounding communities which provide competition for Minnguq. These include items constructed from materials other than seal skin, and seal skin products similar to Minnguq crafts. Oakes (1987) stated that people often wore manufactured footwear instead of kamiks in the community. Employment within the community created different foot protection needs from those required when living or travelling on the land. As a result, rubber boots, boots with steel toe edges, and running shoes were worn. Two teachers whom I interviewed in Iqaluit purchased manufactured fabric and rubber winter boots for kamiks because they found seal skin kamiks too slippery when walking. This characteristic also discouraged Andy Rheume (personal communication, June 3, 1992), a power technician in Broughton Island, from wearing his kamiks.

A retailer in Iqaluit stated that she preferred clothing made of manufactured fabric such as thinsulate material and polar fleece fabric. She preferred these types of fabrics because they are lighter than seal skin and provide enough warmth to meet her needs for protection against the environmental elements. An RCMP officer in Iqaluit returned his kamiks to Minnguq because the seams gaped. He believed that the seams would not provide the protection he needed from the environmental conditions. As a result, the consumer then ordered a pair from an independent seamstress in Iqaluit.

Although, Minnguq manufactures custom designs, independent seamstresses in Broughton Island and in surrounding communities also offer this service. For example, a television cable technician from Iqaluit and a nurse in Broughton Island custom ordered kamiks from independent seamstresses in Broughton Island. They requested kamiks decorated with their names in Inuktitut syllabics (Steven Leck, personal communication, June 10, 1991). Similar and unique crafts available from the Inuit enterprises located in other Baffin Island communities also

compete with Minnguq crafts. For example, Pangnirtung Tapestry Studio creates tapestry weavings (Alia, 1989; Allerston, 1985; Mcleod, 1986; Spence, 1991); Igutak Products in Clyde River manufactures printed, woven place mats; craftspeople in Arctic Bay make brass and steel ulus with muskox handles in addition to kamiks ("Centre of Inspiration," 1987); and the Taqqutit Sewing Group ("London, Paris," 1992) in Iqaluit manufactures similar items to Minnguq crafts. All these products provide a wide choice of Inuit crafts to consumers.

Political Factor

International Seal Skin Import Ban

The international bans on seal skin imports affect the marketing of Minnguq crafts because these government policies limit the potential European and American markets to which Minnguq could sell its products (Tuchak, 1991). However, despite the European ban, a French tourist purchased a seal skin stuffed polar bear from Minnguq.

Iqaluit resident, John Chapman, and tourists Herb and Lele Schreiber (personal communication, June 2, 1992) stated that they purchased Inuit seal skin crafts to support the Inuit craftspeople. These consumers believed that their patronage will help counter negative effects on the Inuit economy caused by the animal activist movement.

Physical Factor

Consumer Physique

Sutherland (1982) said that the difference between the body sizes of Inuit and non-Inuit customers created difficulties for Inuit seamstresses because they did not see their customers. In particular, the non-Inuit had larger feet and legs which caused alterations in their clothing crafts. As previously mentioned, a past manager of the enterprise noted the difference in foot size between the Inuit and the non-Inuit customers. The difference in physique between the producer and consumer may present a difficulty for Minnguq. A GNWT employee stated that his first pair of duffle socks, which were to be worn inside his seal skin kamiks, was too small. However, he exchanged this pair for another pair made by Minnguq, which were available at the Iqaluit

Arts and Crafts Centre (Grant Baker, personal communication, 1, 1992). Minnguq strives to minimize this discrepancy by asking consumers to draw an outline of their feet. The seamstresses then use the outline as a guide to construct the kamiks.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Minnguq Sewing Group is a community-owned enterprise with an organizational structure which involves several community members. Local natural resources of seal provide the primary raw material for Minnguq crafts, of which the kamik is the principal item in demand. Consumers of Minnguq crafts are northern and southern Canadian residents, Europeans, tourists to Baffin Island, and a Canadian museum. The members of Minnguq and the consumers of Minnguq crafts influenced the design, production, and marketing of the crafts.

In summary, the influences on these aspects of Minnguq crafts are as follows. The design of Minnguq crafts is directed by functional needs, and the aesthetic preferences of Inuit craftspeople and non-Inuit consumers. Raw materials, technological use of these materials, and the consumers' physique affected the craft design. The multiple roles of Broughton Island women, their sewing and management skills, methods of skin preparation and sewing, and the supply of raw materials affected the craft production. Geographical location of Minnguq and consumers, skin processing techniques, and international bans on seal skin imports had an effect on the marketing of Minnguq crafts. Craft sales were also influenced by the aesthetic preferences and quality standards of the craftspeople and consumers; and the consumers' needs of protection and values of prestige. These cultural, social, economic, political, environmental, and physical factors influenced the producers and consumers. Subsequently, the producers and the consumers affected the craft design, production, and marketing as explicated in the discussion.

There are similar and different factors influencing the producers and the consumers (see Figure 3). Cultural factors predominantly influenced both the producers and the consumers. Different economic and social factors affected the producers and the consumers, whereas, there

were common political and physical factors which influenced both groups. Similar and varying environmental factors affected the producers and the consumers of Minnguq crafts.

As a result of this study, Minnguq may use this information to enhance its operations and craft sales. Second, this information may be useful to other enterprises in Canadian Arctic communities which are developing small businesses, and may be useful to similar economic ventures in developing countries.

Based upon the findings of this research study, I recommend that future research studies could focus on the following issues. First, studies may use this research as a model to study craft production in surrounding communities on Baffin Island. Key issues are the identification and analysis of the similarities and differences in the operations of the enterprises. Researchers could not only identify the crafts manufactured by the various groups, and identify their markets and consumer preferences, but they could also analyze how the crafts compete against each other. The studies could determine which crafts are the most successful and why. Researchers may also compare this study of Minnguq with other craft enterprises in the Western region of the Northwest Territories, and in other geographical regions.

Second, a holistic study focusing on the co-operative structure of Minnguq, in relation to the Inuit social structure and its current system of production, would provide insights into the dynamics of the enterprise. This research would contribute to an understanding of the development of indigenous small enterprises based on social structure and systems of production.

Third, this study focused on the non-Inuit consumer of Inuit crafts. There is a need for a more in-depth study of Minnguq's current consumer market which includes both Inuit and non-Inuit people. Research of potential markets such as domestic, international, and tourist markets in relation to Minnguq crafts is highly recommended.

Fourth, research is needed to assess the effects and the future impacts of the pilot tannery in Broughton Island on Minnguq. What is the extent of the impact of the tannery on Minnguq crafts? What effect will this new technology have on the knowledge of Inuit skin preparation

techniques within the Inuit culture?

Research into the recommended areas of study may provide further information regarding factors that facilitate or hinder the Minnguq Sewing Group and other craft enterprises in northern Canada. This information and the findings of this particular research study are a significant component to creating an understanding of the context in which craft development occurs.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Catalog Draft

ᒥᓂᖅᓄᒃ ᓯᖏᓪᓗᒡᓗᑦ

MINNGUQ SEWING GROUP

PHOTO ?

Illustration: Zarah Chun
Photographs: Jill Oakes

No copyright

Broughton Island, N.W.T.
X0A 0B0
Ph. (819) 927-8885
Fax (819) 927-8318

PHOTO ?

Picture of Broughton ?

ᖃᑭᖅᑕᕐᓂᐊᕐᓂᖅ

ᖃᑭᖅᑕᓗᒃ, ᓄᕐᐊᑦ ᑲᓇᖅᓯᐅ ᑭᓚᐢᑐᑦᓯᖅ ᖃᑭᖅᑕᕐᓂᐊᕐᒪᖅ, ᓄᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᒥ. ᐱᖅᑯᓯᖅᑐᑦᑎᓗᒃ ᐊᑐᖅᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑭᖅᓈᐃᖅ ᑕᒪᓐᖏᑦ ᑭᖅᓄᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᖅᑐᐃᑦ ᓇᕐᓂᐅᑦ ᖃᕐᓱᓐᓂᖅ. ᑕᐃᒪᖅᓴᓚᒪᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᒥᓯᓕᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᑐᖅᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓇᓂᕐᔪᐊᖅᑐᑦ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᖅᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑭᖅᓈᐃᖅ ᑕᒪᓐᖏᑦ ᑭᓄᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᖅᑐᐃᑦ ᓇᕐᓂᐅᑦ ᖃᕐᓱᓐᓂᖅ. ᑕᐃᒪᖅᓴᓚᒪᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᒥᓯᓕᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᑐᖅᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓇᓂᕐᔪᐊᖅᑐᑦ ᐊᑐᖅᑐᑦ ᐊᑐ

Traditional Parkas

ᖃᖃᓐᓯᐊᒃ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᐱᑕᒧᐊᓘᑐᑦ ᑲᓇᑕᑦ ᑲᑎᑕᐃᓕᓐᓂᖅ. ᓇᒥᔪᐃᓐᓇᓐ ᑲᑎᑕᐃᓕᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᐊᓯᐅᓯᕙᒃᓴᓂ ᐊᓇᓕᓂᑦ ᑕᓐᓂᑦ ᖃᓐᓕᒃ ᓯᓚᑖᓂᖅ, ᑎᓴᒪᓂ ᓴᓐᑐᓂᖅ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᐊᒃᓱᖅ ᑭᓪᓕᒃᑐᐃᓐᓇᓐᓂᖅ.

ᓴᖅᓱᓂ

ᑕᓐᓇᓗ ᐊᓐᓇᑦ ᐊᒪᑎᑎ ᓇᑦᓂᐅᑦ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ. ᐃᑦᓗᓂᑦ ᐱᑎᕆᑦ ᐱᐅᓂᒡᓗᓂᑦ ᐊᓇᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ ᐃᓚᓐᓇᐃᓐᓇᓐᓂᖅ ᐊᓇᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ ᖃᓄᖅ, ᓇᓂᑦ, ᐊᓇᓕᒃᓵ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᐃᓗᓐᓇᓐᓂᖅ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᓇᑦᓂᐅᑦ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ.

Traditional Parkas

Broughton Island parkas are among the most beautiful found in the Canadian Arctic. The white trim, front split, and square tails distinguish the parka's origins, as each region has its own special design.

Front Cover

This woman's seal skin parka, an amauti, has a pouch under the hood for carrying children, which enables the wearer use of their arms. Luxurious leggings, shorts, boots, and mitts are made to match.

ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ

ᐅᓪᓗᒥᒃ ᓄᐃᓚᖓᓂᑦ ᐊᒪᓗᓐ ᐅᓚᐅᓯᖅᑕᓯᓐᓂᖅ ᓯᐅᓄᐃᓕᐅᑉ ᓴᓇᐅᑎᓪᓗᒥᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᓯᓚᑖᓂᖅ.

ᓯᑕᓯᖅᑕᓂᑦ ᐊᑎᑎᑦ

ᐃᓚᑎᑦ ᑕᒪᓐᑎᑦ ᑕᐃᒪᓐᕆᔨᑦ ᐊᓐᓴᑦᑐᑎᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᑎᑎᑦᑕᖅᑐᓂᒃᓴᓂᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᐊᓯᐅᓯᕙᒃᓴᓂᑦ.

ᖃᒧᑕᐅᓂᑦ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ

ᓇᓗᓕᒫᓂᒃ ᑲᑎᑎᓐᓂᒃ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ. ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᐅᑦ ᐊᑐᓕᖅᑐᑦ ᑲᑎᑎᓐᓂᒃ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᐊᓯᐅᓯᕙᒃᓴᓂᑦ. ᐱᖓᓱᓐᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᓕᖅᑐᑦ ᓇᓂᓕᒃᓵ ᖃᓄᖅᓇᓂᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᑦ ᐊᓯᐅᓯᕙᒃᓴᓂᑦ.

Seal skin parka

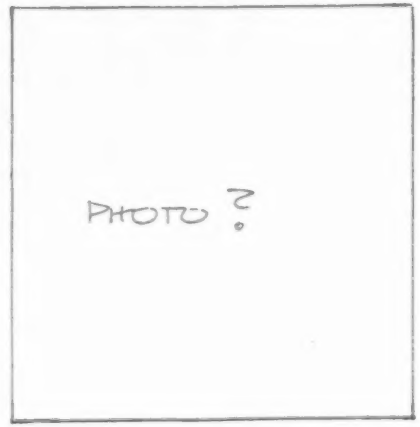
Decorated with silver haired seal skin trimming along the hood and hem. The traditional front slit allows easy movement in the great outdoors!

Child's parka

You can outfit the whole family in matching parkas.

Seal skin pants!

These are perfect for ice fishing and long winter treks. Wind and water resistant, and durable for all rough and tumble outdoor activities in the snow. They are decoreated with strips of contrasting color.



ᒥᐊᓕ ᐊᓗᑭ

Mary Alookie

Mary learned to sew at the age of six from her mother while living in a seal skin tent. Years of sewing experience makes Mary a wealth of knowledge. She teaches many traditional sewing techniques, and tells stories to the interested young of Broughton Island.

PHOTO ?

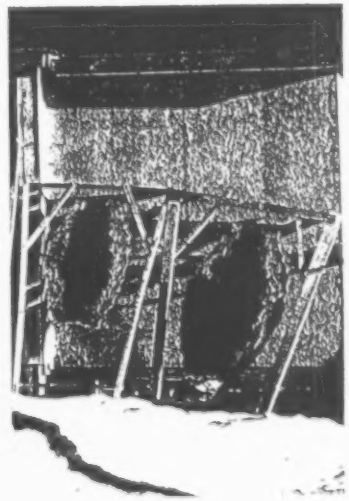
ᓱᑭᐸ ᐊᐅᓚᑲᑭᐊᒃ

Yukipa Audlakiak

This talented lady learned traditional sewing by watching her elders. Yukipa says she is still learning and explains, "Inuit keep learning as long as they sew." Today she uses these skills to create exciting new designs.

Every item is unique

Natural color and texture variations make every product different and special.

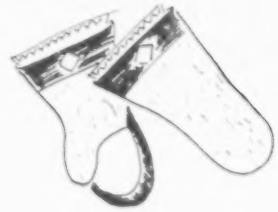


Skin preparation

Seal skins are cleaned and prepared by removing the fat with a hand held scraper. Skins are then lashed and stretched over a wood frame, and left to dry.

Seal Skin Mitts

will keep your fingers cozy when working or frolicking outdoors!



Gauntlets

Shaved seal skin on the palm provides maximum grip, and wool duffle liners give extra warmth. Other motifs for the cuff may be requested. 1003

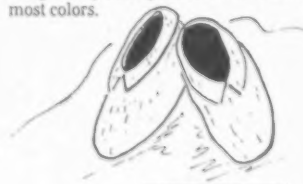
Children's mitts

Keeps them warm at play. Shaved seal skin on the palm provides maximum grip. Fox fur cuff is optional. 1004

Both styles available in adult and children sizes.

Duffle Slippers

Nothing like a comfy pair of wool duffle slippers with durable leather sole. Embroidery can be colorful florals, or other designs may be requested. Available in most colors. 1005



Sealskin Slippers

lined with wool duffle. 1006

ᑲᒻᓴ

(AVAILABLE IN ALL SIZES)

KAMIKS

(AVAILABLE IN ALL SIZES)

FUR KAMIKS

Fur kamiks provide optimal warmth. Excellent for snapping cold days. Combine these with sealskin slippers 1009 and duffle socks 1007 and/or duffle slippers 1008 for traditional northern footwear. Special designs may be requested.

Traditional Womens	1007
Traditional Mens	1008

WATERPROOF KAMIKS

For northern springtime and even used during winter months. These also are used with duffle socks, slippers and sealskin slippers.

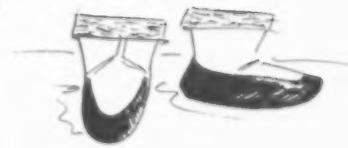
Traditional Bleached

Womens – tall	1009
Womens – short	1010
Traditional Mens	1011

KAMIK SLIPPERS

Sealskin and duffle. Slip these into your kamiks or any other boot for extra warmth.

Sealskin	1012
Duffle	1013

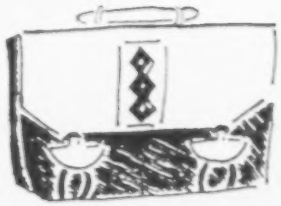


DUFFLE SOCKS

Kneehigh duffle socks for cozy feet inside kamiks or any boot. Used all year round in Canada's north. 1014

PHOTO ?

ᓂᕆᒥᐅᑕᓪᓚᑦ ᐳᑦ
Carrying Cases

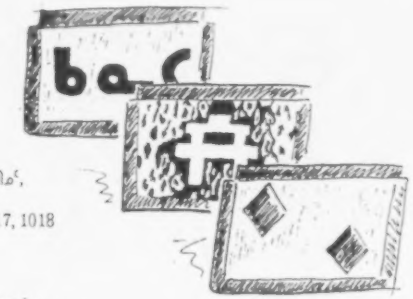


ᑎᑎᖏᖏᕐᓄ ᓂᕆᒥᐅᑕᓪᓚᓄ

ᓴᓇᒪᓪᓚᑦ ᐃᓗᐃᑎᒋᕐᓄ ᑐᑐᑦ ᓇᓕᕐᓂᓂᓄ ᑎᒥᐅᑕᖅᓗᓂ, ᓇᖅᑐᑦ ᕿᓘᑦ ᐃᖏᕐᕕᐅᑦᓯᐅᓂᓄ ᖃᖅᓴᖅᑎᑦᓯᓂᓄ ᐃᓗᐊᒪᑦᑕ ᑭᒪ ᐃᓗᒍᒥᓪ ᓯᕆᓂᓄ ᐳᖅᐃᓕᓄ. 1015

Briefcase

Caribou antler fasteners and handle. It is seal skin and leather with nylon lining and an inside zipper pouch. 1015



ᕿᐃᑦᕿᓕᓴᐃᓕᑦ

ᓇᖏᒪᑦ, ᑐᓴᖅᑭᑎᓕᒃ, ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᐊᕐᓕᓕᒫᑦ, ᐊᓂᖅᓂᕐᓂᓕᕆᓂᑦ, ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓂᓕᒃ, ᖃᓄᐃᓂᒃᑲᓂᕐᓂᖅ ᐃᓗᐊᒪᑦᑕ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᖅᑕᐅᓂᖅ. 1016, 1017, 1018

Portfolios

Perfect for office documents, school books, or sheet music. They are leather trimmed, and nylon lined. 1016, 1017, 1018

ᑐᓂᓯᔪᒡᒐᓗᐃᑦ!

ᑐᓴᖅ ᓇᑦᓯᐅᓂᓄ ᓴᓇᒪᓪᓚᑦ ᑭᓯᐅᑎᑎᓕᖅ. ᑲᓇᖅᑐᖅ ᒪᓕᖅ ᓇᓕᕐᓂᐊᕐᓕᖅ.

ᕿᓇᐅᔨᖏᑦ	1019
ᖃᓄᐃᓂᒃ ᓄᓇᕗᓂᓄ ᐊᐱᕐᑐᓂᕐᒪᓪᓚᓄ	1020

Great gifts!

Caribou antler fasteners. Light or dark skin available.

Wallet	1019
Change purse	1020

ᓇᓪᒪᒐᑦ

ᑭᐅᓂᓇᓕᓪᓚᓄ ᓯᓂᑲᓇᓱᓪᓚᓄ ᐃᖏᕐᕕᐅᑦᓯᐅᓂᓄ ᐃᖏᕐᕕᐅᑦᓯᐅᓂᓄ ᖃᓄᐃᓂᒃᑲᓂᕐᓂᖅ ᐳᖅᐃᓕᓄ ᓴᓇᓕᕐᓂᐊᕐᓕᓕᒫᑦ. 1021, 1022

Fanny Packs

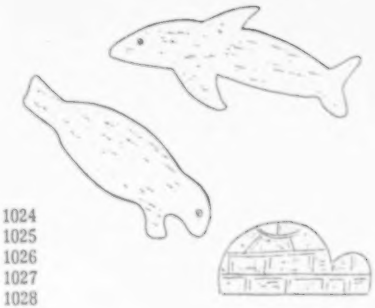
Ideal for daily use to wild weekend excursions. These bags are leather with nylon lining and an inside zipper pouch. 1021, 1022

ᖃᓄᐃᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᐊᑯᓂᕆᓪᓚᑦ

ᐳᖅᓯᓪᓚᕆᓕᓪᓚᑦ ᕿᓇᐅᔨᖏᓐᓇᓂᓄ, ᓴᓇᖅᑐᓂᓄ ᑭᒪᖏᓂᓄ ᓴᓇᓕᕐᓂᐊᕐᓕᓕᒫᑦ. 1023

Belt bags

Handy for wallets, tools, and other items. They are fastened with a caribou antler toggle or a snap button. 1023



Unique Hair Clips

Translation required

Unique Hair Clips

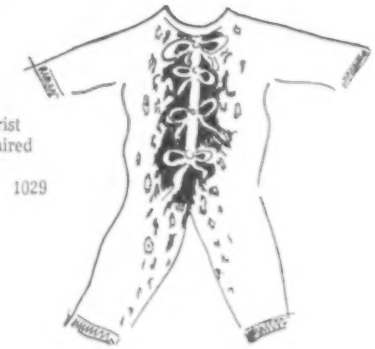
Oopik	1024
Triplets	1025
Beluga whale	1026
Seal	1027
Igloo	1028

Snowsuit for Little Ones

Translation required.

Snowsuit for Little Ones

Durable for the most active! Collar, wrist and ankles are trimmed with silver haired seal skin. It has a colorful front tie closure. 1029



ᑐᑐᑦ ᓇᓴᕐᓂᓄᑦ ᓴᓇᓯᒪᔨᑦ ᖃᑭᓂᒋᐊᓂ

A creative way to embellish any wardrobe!

ᒥᑭᓂ ᐊᖏᓚᑦᑕ ᖃᑭᓂᒋᐊᓂ	1030
ᐊᖏᑭᓂ ᐊᖏᓚᑦᑕ ᖃᑭᓂᒋᐊᓂ	1031
ᐊᖏᓚᐊᖏᑭᓂ ᖃᑭᓂᒋᐊᓂ	1032
ᓇᐃᑐᓂ ᐃᓗᐃᑎᓕᓴᓗᒃᑕᓂ	1033
ᑭᑭᓂ ᐃᓗᐃᑎᓕᓴᓗᒃᑕᓂ	1034
ᓇᓄᑦ ᓂᐊᓂᓛᐊᖏᓚ ᖃᑭᓂᒋᐊᓂ	1035

Caribou Antler Buttons

A creative way to embellish any wardrobe!

Round (small)	1030
Round (large)	1031
Pear shape	1032
Short toggle	1033
Long toggle	1034
Polar bear head	1035

Seal Skin Kamik Earrings

Translation required. 1036

Seal Skin Kamik Earrings

You don't have to wear kamiks on your feet! 1036

Zipper Pulls and Tree Ornaments

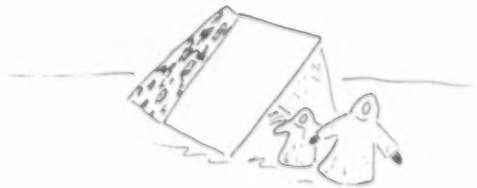
Translation required.

ᖃᑦ	1037
ᖃᑦ	1038
ᖃᑦ	1039
ᖃᑦ	1040
ᐳᐊᓄ	1041
ᐃᓄ	1042

Zipper Pulls and Tree Ornaments

Enhance your home or parka with these seal skin miniatures.

Kamiks	1037
Kamiks	1038
Kamiks	1039
Kamiks	1040
Mitts	1041
Inuk	1042



Arctic Animals

Translation required.

ᖃᓄᖅ ᑭᓚᒃ	1043
ᓇᓂᖅ	1044
ᖁᓕᖕᒪᖏᖅ	1045
ᐅᑎᕐᔪᖅ	1046
Rabbit	1047
ᑐᐱᖅ ᓇᕐᑐᑦ ᑭᓱᐊ	1048
ᐃᓂᖅ	1049

Arctic Animals

These soft and furry creatures are cherished by children, and adored by adults. Excellent teaching tools displaying Canadian wildlife. Small or Large sizes are available.

Beluga whale	1043
Polar bear	1044
Narwhale	1045
Owl	1046
Rabbit	1047
Seal skin tent	1048
Inuk	1049

Puppets

Translation required.

ᓇᐅᖅ ᖃᒧᑦ ᓯᓚᑦ	1050
ᖁᓇᖅ ᓱᕐᓂᓗ	1051
ᖁᐃᓇᖅᑎᑦ	1052
ᖁᐃᓇᖅᑎᑦ ᓄᕐᕕᖁᑐᖅ	1053

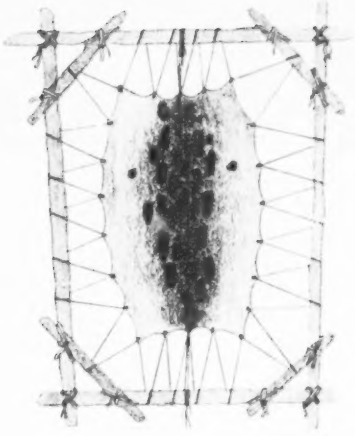
Puppets

These hand-held puppets provide fun and entertainment for everyone. Enticing to children when learning about Canadian heritage, Inuit culture and lifestyles.

Silak the Seal	1050
Woman and child. Carved bone faces are optional	1051
Hunter	1052
Hunter with hunting bag. Carved bone face is optional.	1053

Appendix B

Back and Front Description of Minnguq Business Card



Minnguq Sewing Group
General Delivery
Broughton Island, N.W.T.
Canada X0A 0B0

Phone (819) 927-8885
Fax (819) 927-8318

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In Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit, Minnguq refers to an industrious Arctic beetle. It is the name chosen for the sewing group located in the community of Broughton Island. With a population of 500, Broughton Island lies approximately 150 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle in the eastern Canadian Arctic, on Baffin Island in the NWT.

For more information or our free catalogue, please contact us at the address on the reverse.

Appendix C

Minnguq Price List

MINNGUQ SEWING GROUP
Broughton Island, N.W.T.
X0A 0H0
Phone:(819) 927-8885
Fax: (819) 927-8318

1991/92 PRICE LIST AND ORDER FORM

Item		Price
Mitts - Sealskin with duffle liner		
1.	Adult short mitts men's	75.00
2.	Adult short mitts women's	67.00
3.	Adult long mitts men's	80.00
4.	Adult long mitts women's	73.00
5.	Children's short mitts	35.00
6.	Children's long mitts	38.00
Mitts - Sealskin without liner		
7.	Adult short mitts men's	63.00
8.	Adult short mitts women's	55.00
9.	Adult long mitts men's	66.00
10.	Adult long mitts women's	60.00
11.	Children's short mitts	29.00
12.	Children's long mitts	32.00
Slippers - duffle with leather sole		
13.	Adult slippers	37.00
14.	Children's slippers	25.00
Slippers - sealskin with duffle liner and leather sole		
15.	Adult slippers	65.00
16.	Children's slippers	42.00
Portfolio - lined with inside pocket		
17.	Portfolio - plain	76.00
18.	Portfolio - with inlay design	85.00
Pencil Cases		
19.	Pencil Case - plain	16.00
20.	Pencil Case - with inlay design	20.00

Fanny bag sq. & rd. - lined & inside pocket

21.	Fanny bag - plain	43.00
22.	Fanny bag - with inlay design	52.00

Small bags

23.	Belt pouch bag with snap	17.00
24.	Change Purse	8.25
25.	Eyeglass case	15.00

Small Zipper pulls and earrings

26.	Small Kamiks - 3 1/2 inches	
	a) traditional women's	20.00
	b) traditional men's	20.00
	c) waterproof	20.00
	d) bleached	20.00
27.	Small Mitts - 3 1.2 inches -	20.00
28.	Small Parka	15.00
29.	Tiny Kamik Earrings	15.00

Things for hunters

30.	Gun Case	166.00
31.	Hunter's bag	49.00

Women's briefcase with handle and lined with pocket

32.	Briefcase - plain	140.00
33.	Briefcase - inlay design	160.00

Puppets - sealskin

34.	Man's doll parka - no face	35.00
35.	Traditional man with bag & face	62.00
36.	Traditional amautik with face	66.00
37.	Bird hand puppet	36.00

Children's traditional items

38.	Baby bonnet - sealskin	33.00
39.	Baby bunting bag	130.00
40.	Toddler's jumpsuit	180.00

Collectors items

41.	Sealskin tent with people (3)	68.00
42.	Shaman's mask signed by artist	150.00

Stuffed animals - sealskin

43.	Small seal	20.00
44.	Large seal	33.00
45.	Small beluga	20.00
46.	Large beluga	33.00
47.	Small narwhale	27.00
48.	Large narwhale	40.00
49.	Bowhead whale	33.00
50.	Small rabbit	16.00
51.	Large rabbit	26.00
52.	Small Owl	17.00
53.	Large Owl	27.00

Souvenir Items

54.	Hair Clip	10.00
55.	Oopik (owl) hair clip	10.00
56.	Simple shape key ring	5.00
57.	Oopik (owl) bookmark	5.00

For items 1-6, 13-16 pick the colour of duffle from the following list: white, black, tan, green, burgundy, red, royal blue, navy blue

To order please send us the completed form, outline of foot or hand, for footwear and handwear and certified cheque.
Delivery time: 4 to 6 weeks from receipt of order. Prices subject to change without notice.

Amount of order $_____
Add: Packaging & Postage $ 10.00
Total amount enclosed $_____

Name _____
Address _____
Territory/Province _____
Postal Code _____
Phone Number _____